The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 6 January 1972
Eleventh Year - No. 508 - By air

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Big Three aim to redress Indo-Pak power balance



Defeat for Pakistan in East Bengal, which virtually seals the loss of this ajor part of the South Asian Mohammen State, has been decided, and not just ilitarily. It also signifies the decline of a hole national idea, in which two States idely separated by geography and of stly differing nature, tradition and nguage were intended to be kept tother by the worship of Mohammed.

This meant the dominance of the ilitary, large-estate owners and instrialists in the western part of the ate, where the official language was rdu with its semi-Persian base over the ore populous, but economically far less eveloped East Bengal, where the lanuage is one of the most complicated to ome down from Sanskrit.

The move to secession in East Bengal d not just begin with the Indian obilisation but started one year ago ith the election victory of the Bengali tonomists.

It was the passionate followers of Islam ho revolted at that time against the omination of the other members of their ith in West Pakistan.

It was with the aid of the religiously eutral neighbour State India that the eakaway of East Bengal became a ality, Indira Gandhi justifying her tions by claiming that the burden of ast Pakistan refugees on her own couny was too great.

The division of the continent into India d Pakistan was a hangover from the ritish colonial days. Playing off the dian Moslem League against the Hindud Congress Party, which was, however, pported by many Mohammedans, was rt of the British viceroys' balance-ofower policy.

At the end of the last war when the assive Indian Empire was divided up to two major States and the separate, rgely Buddhist territories of Burma and eylon Whitehall believed it had divided e power in this part of Asia in such a ay that the scales would remain banced.

While the British power to exercise fluence quickly diminished the Americans took over the job of rebuilding an sian policy of alliance. Because of its onservative nature Pakistan was to be e cornerstone of this and acted as the nnecting link between two chains of liance around the communist world, nto and Seato.

But these artificial setups did not fulfil eir appointed role either, since memrs either came to separate agreements th their neighbours outside the treaty acted completely passively where forn policy was concerned.

Pakistan was disappointed because its otectors within the alliance did not me rushing to its aid against neutral dia in the Kashmir dispute. Again in 1965 Pakistan entered a go-it-alone war with India.

At that time the Anglo-Saxon countries had taken a completely passive stand and it was left to the Soviet Union to mediate for peace.

Moscow's policy was concerned with maintaining the status quo in South Asia, which meant that once again Pakistan did not get its way over Kashmir. The Pakistan government in Rawalpindi had equilibrium.

It tried to curry favour with Moscow's Asian antagonist Peking while at the same time maintaining diplomatic protection and the covering fire of arms deliveries from Washington. What it managed to achieve was to bring India and the Soviet Union closer together.

From this fluid state of equilibrium in which Moscow partnered New Delhi and Rawalpindi thought it had the double protection of Peking and Washington the latest call to arms developed.

The fact that this war had to end with the capitulation of the Pakistani forces in Bengal is something that even the government in Rawalpindi has now had to admit, although it was most reluctant to do so at first. Without a ceasefire affecting the border between India and West Pakistan as well it would not have been possible to bring back the prisoners of war in the East.

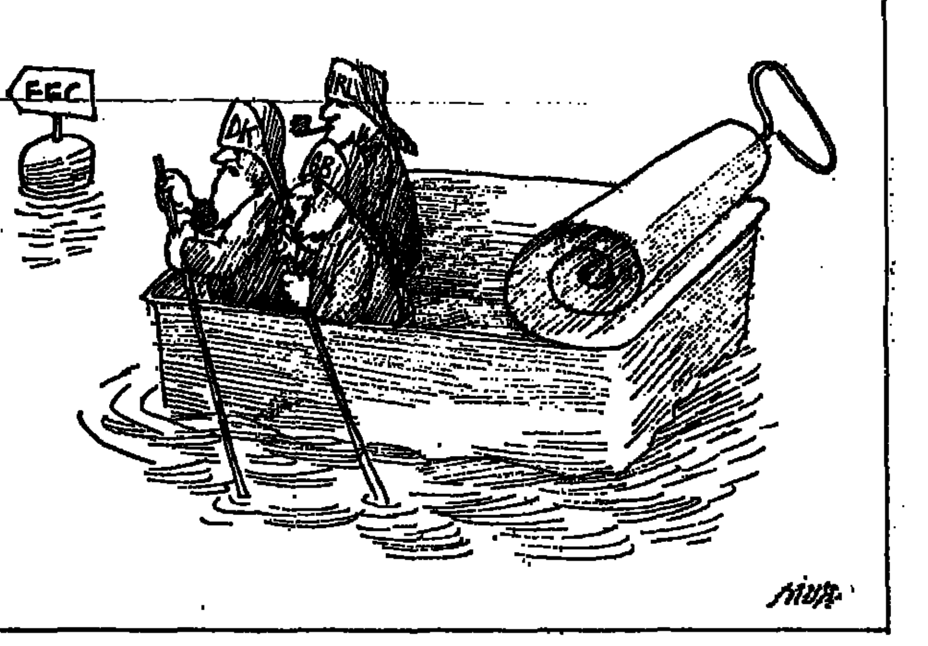
In the Security Council of the United Nations it is inconceivable that any solution other than the present ceasefire will be suggested. But recently the Chinese have had a few sharp words to say about the Indians and their Soviet backers. But they obviously are not prepared to get involved in a scrap on the Indian subcontinent themselves.

Is the pendulum swinging back to renewed equilibrium in Asia? If so the role played by Pakistan would certainly not be so important as it has been in the past. India, on the other hand, could well become another significant antagonist of China alongside the Soviet Union.

But such forecasts for the immediate future run contradictory to the facts recounted by witnesses of the situation in East Bengal. For many years to come this large and well-endowed piece of territory, which India helped to free from West Pakistan domination, will not increase India's power, but will rather be a burden on India.

Speculation about whether West Bengal, which belongs to India and has its

Continued on page 2



Three men in a boat
(Cartoon: Murschetz/Süddeutsche Zeitung)

Enlarged Common Market poised for great power status

After eighteen months of the current round of negotiations and over nine years in the pipeline Britain can now, at long last, sign the treaty of accession to the European Economic Community.

The Common Market has thus achieved one of the major prerequisites for a gradual transition to European federation. Without this political target the economic union would remain an unsatisfactory patchwork.

Ireland and Denmark will probably follow suit. The Norwegians, on the other hand, are proving difficult. Their special requirement in respect of fishing rights, six- and twelve-mile limits, transitional periods and other primarily national considerations are straining the nerves and the patience of their opposite numbers round the conference table.

If need be Norway will have to remain outside the pale of the accession procedure scheduled for mid-January — either for a short reconsideration or, if no agreement is reached, for an indefinite period.

The Common Market is not dependent on expansion at all costs. Cohesion is of far greater importance. It would, of course, be regrettable if the Norwegians were to set themselves apart but only they can know what Europe and integration on the one hand and special fishing rights and the fishermen's vote on the other are worth.

Whatever decision Norway reaches, the nucleus of Europe has now, gratifyingly enough, overcome the limitations of the Treaty of Rome.

To begin with the Rome treaties may well have had their advantages. On their own the original Six, untrammeled by what at the time were extremely special British relationships overseas, were able to press ahead faster and more effectively with economic integration than they would have been able to within a larger group.

In the new development period, which will not get fully under way until 1973 and after the interim period, the experience gained by the Six must continue to be the motive force of further integration without, of course, dismissing the newcomers as novices.

Britain in particular must be allotted the role warranted by its economic potential, especially in connection with the urgent need for monetary reforms. But it would be better not even to think in terms of any, even an implicit claim to hegemony of any kind.

Some idea of the difficulties, both economic and political, with which the larger EEC will be confronted is conveyed by the intervention in Brussels by US special envoy William Eberle, an intervention verging on blackmail.

Mr Eberle visited Brussels on behalf of Treasury Secretary Connally in order to gain the maximum of trading benefits in return for overdue dollar devaluation, demanding concessions from the EEC that virtually required the negation of part of its political make-up.

With his lack of political tact Eberle could hardly fail to be rebuffed but this episode does show that the days are over when political considerations overruled economic differences and harmony reigned between America and the EEC.

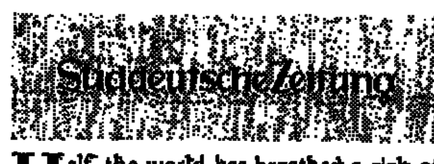
A European confederation ought not, of course, suddenly to turn on America,

Continued on page 3

IN THIS ISSUE

■ MONETARY REALIGNMENT

Will other IMF countries follow Group of Ten's lead in containing currency crisis?



Half the world has breathed a sigh of relief now that the monetary crisis that has been an open sore since the suspension of dollar convertibility on 15 August has been averted – for the time being.

The superficial realignment of exchange rates agreed on by the ten leading industrial countries of the West in Washington has yet to be followed by a more thoroughgoing reform of the Western monetary system designed to cure the worldwide inflation bug, this after-care being the far more difficult of the two tasks.

The events leading up to the final arrangement reached in Washington nonetheless demonstrate the way in which a nerve-racking hand can be bid to the upper limit until the point at which no one can play the leading trump card without a general compromise eventually proving necessary.

Eventually everyone had to compromise, the Americans by devaluing the dollar at long last and Japan and Europe by revaluing and making trade concessions, Bonn (by virtue of too high a floating exchange rate) and Tokyo appearing to have the poorer hands judged by the high rate by which they were forced to revalue in relation to the dollar.

In relation to other European currencies, however, our main trading partners, that is, the position would appear to be a good deal more favourable. In terms of the flating exchange rate of the Mark this country's currency has indeed been devalued slightly.

Regardless of the terms of reference the compromises reached have been worthwhile, though. Realignment has saved the West from nothing more nor less than the hangman's noose of protectionism, a fate that last befell the West at the end of 1929 and the beginning of 1930 when not only Wall Street but also the international monetary system as a whole crashed, resulting in a suicidal crisis and millions of unemployed.





Bad days those were! In the process of successive devaluations, foreign exchange dumping and controls world trade declined to a third of its previous level between 1929 and 1934, a harsh awakening from the lasting prosperity that seemed to have been achieved.

Memories of the slump were certainly sufficient to induce the Group of Ten to agree on new exchange rates and it can only be hoped that, the other hundred-odd members of the International Monetary Fund will also agree to a reform replacing the dollar as the leading currency by some new, artificial reserve currency and above all paving the way for greater flexibility.

The dollar used to be the epitome of the life-force and expansive capacity of capitalism but from being much in demand it was eventually dropped like a hot potato even though some 60,000 million dollars are kept in reserve by Western banks of issue.

Devaluation alone will not resuscitate the dollar. The 7.89-per-cent devaluation merely provides the United States with an export advantage that its competitors can ill afford but may well melt away like snow in the sun if the domestic purchasing power of the dollar continues to decline.

Yet a continuation of this decline seems more than likely. The pace of price increases in the United States has not slowed down because of growing producitivity and falling costs but merely because the administration is tinkering away at market mechanisms.

The measures undertaken by the Nixon administration are likely not to cut the cost of production but merely to stem the tide of inflation. Sooner or later the dam must break.

A repetition of the crisis that has just been averted can only be avoided by the West substituting a more flexible monetary system for the present one. There must be re- and devaluation provisions of some kind or other to compel exchange rates to tally with the purchasing power of the various currencies.

There are ways and means of establishing just such a system, the trouble being that the most straightforward, free and unhindered rates of exchange, is a non-starter. The Mark, for instance, was floating last May but apart from Canada no other major industrial country has been at all enthusiastic about the idea.

Flotation of the Mark at least slowed down the influx of fresh billions of dollars into the country (to have still more money in reserve would have had catastrophic consequences for purchasing power).

It also made imports cheaper and compelled industry to keep a vigilant eye on costs, witness recent dollar deals. In other words, flotations heralded a return to stability.

On the other hand this unilateral move, undertaken in self-defence against an influx of dollars, cannot be maintained for all time for a country as dependent on exports as ours.

For all that, inflation is not just around the corner. Even now that free exchange rates have been brought to an end industry is going to have to cut costs, rationalise and boost productivity as much as possible.

This inexorable consequence of what has, after all, been a surprisingly steep revaluation in relation to the dollar will oddly enough ensure that this country's competitiveness on world markets is regained with the aid of stable prices and high quality.

This tendency will be increasingly strong but will also depend on the length of time Karl Schiller, the lone advocate of stability, succeeds in withstanding pressure from the trade unions, the employers, the reformers and the apostles of growth. But the pressure is growing and even being brought to bear by the banks of issue.

This country is walking an economic tightrope, it is true, but what else was to be expected after the length of time inflationary tendencies were allowed to take their course between autumn 1968 and autumn 1970?

Would it not be a good deal more dubious to forfeit the trump card of stability before having led it? When all is said and done cost prices, the vanguard of retail prices, are no longer on the increase.

Assuming, at all events, that a f degree of stability is achieved the t will then be right to take arms against repetition of the influx of foreign e change that may well ensue if reform the international monetary system prov to have been inadequate.

Monetary reform, let it be added, w only be satisfactory if it entails str housekeeping by all major industri countries; and since keeping one's ow house in order is no mean task t likelihood of adequate reform propos being put into action is none too good.

Disregarding for a moment the unde standable bargaining over fractions of per cent in exchange rate realignment is true to say that the powers that be see to have grasped to a certain extent wh is involved? Possibly. The Washingto gathering demonstrated the fact th pleasant surprises still can occur.

Who, half a year ago, would ha ventured to forecast that exchange ra margins would have been extended soon, allowing banks of issue to engage a miniature version of floating?

Crises also provide opportunities, o portunities that were grasped in Washin ton by twenty level-headed businessme ten Ministers of Finance and ten go ernors of banks of issue.

Will more than a hundred IMF mem bers with greatly varying economic pro lems also succeed in allowing an enti world to breathe a sigh of relief?

Franz Thoma

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 December 197

Big Three and Indo-Pak power balanc

Continued from page 1

capital in Calcutta, could strive for unity with Bangla Desh is unrealistic.

A highly developed industrial area populated mainly by Hindus is not likely to want to be joined to an economically underdevelopped country populated almost entirely by Mohammedan small farmers.

But following the civil war in East Bengal which preceded the Indian advance, and the misery of the refugees in West Bengal, the countless millions, this part of the world is stricken with poverty and unrest and is a breeding-ground for agitators.

Other parts of the continent have had a good harvest. But in both parts of Beng in the near future there is likely to be crop of left-wing agitation.

For India this is a more serious thre than an attack by the Chinese from th Himalayas. The Chinese are at the m ment trying to feel their way towar peaceful cooperation with other peopl and an attack on India would not fit with their plans.

In the search for new equilibrium Asia President Nixon and his governme have for the first time fought on the sa side as China. They were not particular active, but the mere fact is remarkable.

This has been a grave disappointme for the Indians, no satisfaction for t Pakistanis and has raised criticism fro the Soviet Union. Only time will tell ho far this raises Chinese sympathies f Washington's position.

With their attempts to bring about ceasefire the Americans have introduced new policy for equilibrium in Asia. Un balance can be restored in the large chunk of land in the world it is not like to be achieved in the world as a whole.

Immanuel Birnbaum

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 December 197

Bermuda summit ends an era in Anglo-American affairs

International political repercussions cannot be said to have resulted from the Anglo-American summit in the Bermudas. There was not even a dramatic resuscitation of the special relationship between the two as achieved by Prime Minister Macmillan and President Kennedy ten years beforehand.

President Nixon has long since gone his own sweet way. Whitehall is rather offput at not having been specially consulted prior, say, to the President's change of heart on China or his unilateral trade moves or America's handling of the Indo-Pakistani conflict at the United Nations.

What is more, the Indo-Pakistani war was over before President Nixon and Premier Heath met. The international currency crisis had also been resolved.

So it was that the two men had ample time on their hands in the Bahamas to review mutual relations. The special relationship is rapidly giving way to special links, which are little more than a matter of course between two countries with a common language and so much more in the way of a common historical and legal heritage.

The special role played by the British Premier in comparison with the French President or the German Chancellor would now, however, appear to be a thing of the past.

With Washington's express approval Britain has jointed the European bandwaggon and it is from Europe that is must now make its presence felt in Atlantic affairs.

In a month's time Whitehall plans to sign the treaty of accession to the Common Market. The Bermuda summit thus came at a time of economic and foreign policy reorientation for Britain and was accordingly of a certain historic significance.

It marked a move in the search for a new political role in a world in which the ramifications of power are more manifold and less straightforwardly ideological than in the days of Kennedy and Macmillan.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 December 1971)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Managing Editor: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthon English language sub-editor: Geoffrey Penny. – Distribution Manager: Georgine von Platen.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76. Tel.: 2 25 61. Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: Konrad Kadlubowski 56 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn. Tel.: 22 61 53. Telex: 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 8 — Annual subscription DM 25.

Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 21 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprint are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. THE GERMAN TRIBUNE also publishes a Quarterly Review and a Supplement, articles selected from German periodicals.

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■ DISARMAMENT

Salt talks prove a success but the going is slow

Hard work has been put in by the American and Soviet Salt negotia-tors who broke up for a well-earned Christmas recess after the sixth round of talks in Vienna on freezing the super-powers' nuclear missile potential.

The missile specialists meeting in Vienna not only brought the number of sessions held so far to more than a hundred. They also, one gathers, held additional background talks on events in the Indian subcontinent.

Not even at their 104th meeting on 22 December, however, did they reach agreement on the most important item on the agenda, the long-awaited partial treaty on a limitation of ABM systems in existence, projected and under construction, an agreement prematurely heralded at the highest level.

And as long as this partial agreement is not in the bag there is no prospect of an arms race let-up in the sector of devastating and increasingly sophisticated offensive missiles.

With these delaying tactics, observers in Western Europe will doubtless note, the two superpowers have acted in disregard of Article VI of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty in which they undertook "to hold serious talks on effective measures to end the nuclear arms race in the near future."

This is not to impute that the Americans and the Russians have not been serious in Vienna but they have taken things rather easily and tacitly agreed not to make life difficult for each other.

The inconclusive end of the latest round of talks also means that a fair number of optimistic Salt pundits who had counted on a partial ABM agreement before the end of the year have been proved mistaken.

The main contributory factor will have been that the much-vaunted learning processes in the corridors of power of the two sides were, when it came to brass tacks, feebler than the arguments of the established military-industrial complex, which is, when all is said and done, by no means limited to the armed forces and the armaments manufacturers.

The striving for a position of strength, be it only for purposes of negotiation, has prevailed over the realisation that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union can really afford to continue with the nuclear arms race in view of their domestic commitments.

As recently as at the last Nato summit in Brussels US Defence Secretary Laird reiterated the classic arguments in favour of the current arms race, which augured none too well for the outcome of the latest round of Salt talks.

Mr Laird announced that the American defence budget would continue to include significant allocations for research and development. The intention, he stated, was to make it clear to the Soviet Union that it stood no chance of overtaking the United States with its continued build-up of offensive weapons.

Assuming that the Soviet Union bases its policy on the same arms logic the upshot is a vicious circle that accounts only too well for the hopeless way in which the Salt negotiators continually lag behind the "breakthroughs" in arms technology.

Not for nothing, then, have US advocates of ABM systems scored two significant successes during the sixth round of Salt talks.

In the face of much domestic protest but with the aid of the Supreme Court an underground nuclear test with the code name Cannikin was conducted in the Aleutian islands. The device tested was the warhead of a Spartan missile, part of the long-range anti-missile system.

Early in December America's missile-builders let loose another Spartan (with a range of up to 500 miles) over the Pacific. The test missile successfully completed its search and destroy mission of locating and putting out of action the "live" warhead of a cluster fired by a MIRV missile.

It can, of course, be assumed that the technology of distinguishing between the mock-up and the real thing in anti-MIRV systems will not remain static. Sooner or later a more efficient offensive missile will be developed, calling for a more sophisticated anti-missile missile and so on ad infinitum.

Washington's current defence budget is a further clear indication of intransigence. 70.5 billion dollars may only amount to slightly under seven per cent of GNP – by this criterion it is the lowest for twenty years – but by and large it remains missile-orientated.

More Polaris submarines are to be converted to multiple-warhead Poseidon missiles and more than 100 million dollars have been allocated for research and development work on an underwater long-range missile system.

The halting talks in Vienna are eloquent evidence of the harmonious way in which arms controls and the arms race can coexist.

Admittedly the time has not yet come to write Salt off as a dead loss. Some time in 1972 President Nixon will put his spectacular undertaking of 20 May 1971 into effect and negotiate an ABM agreement.

Bearing in mind the President's preference for publicity his visit to Moscow scheduled for next May may well be the time and place.

Disarmament would still not be just around the corner, though. Both Salt and the arms race are already too well-established institutions.

Christian Potyka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 December 1971)

Arab world steps up ties with Bonn

Normalisation of relations between the Federal Republic and Arab States is progressing. Fewer and fewer Arab league States are sticking to the 1965 "punitive resolution" following the implementation of diplomatic relations between West Germany and Israel, when they broke off diplomatic contact with the Bonn government.

Morocco, Tunisia and Libya never went along with this anyway and Jordan and South Yemen later ignored it. Algeria has now followed suit and the Sudan has announced its intention to do likewise.

What is remarkable is that Algeria did not even wait for the conference of foreign ministers of the Arab league on 27 December to announce its decision.

According to the former SPD business affairs manager Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, who always nurtured contacts with Algeria most carefully, normal relations could have been restored earlier. Now the matter of whether the Arab league follows up the spectacular announcement of last September that the 1965 decision might be revoked immediately or in the spring of 1972 is of less and less importance.

Relations between the Arab States and the Federal Republic are now virtually bilateral. The great abhorrence of the Arab league is being converted into a carefully gradated disinclination.

The only grounds the Bonn government can have for approving the restrained tempo at which normalisation of relations with the Arab States is being carried out is that the States in question also have diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic.

If the restoration of diplomatic relations happens at the rate of one State at a time and in such a way that Bonn is not the party which decides what moment is opportune this will be of advantage to Bonn with regard to its policy concerning double representation in third-party countries.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 December 1971)

New UN Secretary-General will have his work cut out

The choice of Kurt Waldheim as the Secretary-General, highest official and chief diplomat of the United Nations reveals nothing of the standards that are to be applied to this "most impossible position in the world". This highly esteemed Austrian UN ambassador does not promise a new direction so much as a compromise. Of all the candidates Waldheim was the one against whom the majority of the five major powers in the Security Council had the least objections.

This does not mean that he will be the "man with no shadow" that Finnish fellow candidate Max Jakobsen said was being sought. The post of UN Secretary-General has its limitations, but offers opportunities.

The UN charter outlines the tasks of this position very precisely and grants the man scarcely more rights than the chance of convening the Security Council in times of emergency. But the Secretary-General, and Waldheim is the fourth man to hold this position, has always been regarded as a political creature and never the pen pusher for or servant of the hundred – 132 now, to be precise – members. His ideas, his talent at mediation and above all his diplomatic skill in contact with the major powers determines how successful the UN will be in its dealings.

Above all, to be tolerated by the great powers the Secretary-General does not necessarily need to be easy to get on with. Waldheim's predecessors Trygve Lie (at least until the breach with the Soviets) and Dag Hammarskjöld proved this. Even the taciturn Burmese U Thant added to the image of the world's top diplomat.

Now it is up to Kurt Waldheim to find his way carefully to a new style. The paths of the United Nations are well trodden and often unfortunately lead round in circles. The depressing failure in coping with the Indo-Pakistan war marks a new low in morale. Impatience and anger are being noted along New York's East River.

There is a particular aspect of Waldheim's election affecting people in this country. During his term of office it is quite likely that both German States will find their way into the United Nations. This coexistence will presumably not be too peaceful at first. A Secretary-General from a neutral neighbouring country who speaks German will be able to give special understanding to this problem.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 December 1971)

Indo-Soviet success heartens Arabs

India's ability to deal its arch-enemy Pakistan a severe military blow with the protection of the Soviet superpower cheering on the sidelines and its success in taking a large tract of land from Pakistan is something that will be viewed with interest and attentiveness in the Middle East – the other major crisis area of today, submerged beneath the cloud of war and watched over with great interest by the major powers.

Many hawks in Arab countries will be gratified to see that the Soviet guardian angel watched over India so well, since Moscow is the patron of the Arabs as well. All attempts by the United States and Red China to influence the course of events on the Indian subcontinent and save Pakistan's face with the aid of a United Nations Security Council vote were successfully blocked by the Soviet Union.

In fact this diplomatic success of the Soviet Union is highly significant, especially in relation to communist China, which came out strongly on the side of Pakistan from the start. But the reason for the success was several factors prevailing on the Indian subcontinent which do not prevail in the Middle East.

Following the conclusion of the Indo-Soviet pact in the summer Moscow, safe from being directly attacked by another major power, was able to limit its activities to crippling the United Nations body with the aid of its right of veto and was able to reserve the right to choose weapons itself since the outcome was inevitable, considering the unfavourable geographical lie of East Pakistan.

It is precisely this basic prerequisite that does not exist in the Middle East. The Arab States still have no prospect of beating Israel by military means. So if Moscow wishes to do a good turn for its Arab clients it will find its best move in the United Nations is not confrontation but cooperation with the other major powers. Its alternative is direct intervention in the Middle East, a move that would seem to be ruled out since nobody could foretell what the consequences would be.

Thus we should not take at face value the remark made recently in the semi-official paper *Al Ahram* by President Sadat's confidant Hassanein Heikal, namely that in connection with the Indo-Pakistan conflict the Soviet Union had brought about a "lull" in the Middle East.

What is more interesting is his statement that the crisis on the Indian subcontinent will take on any involvement with more than one trouble spot at a time.

This sounds like justification of the fact that the "decision" announced for the end of this year will be postponed for a while, because Moscow has not given its seal of approval.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 18 December 1971)

Common Market

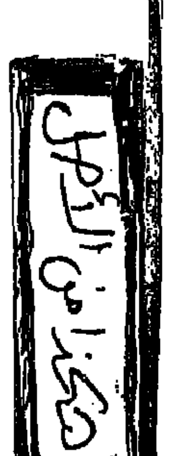
Continued from page 1

What it ought to be doing is keeping in touch with the United States in preparation for joining the ranks of the great powers in the eighties and nineties.

There is thus a vested interest in dealing as soon as possible with such differences as arise between America and Europe as manufacturers. The acrobatics of America neo-protectionism must not, mind you, resemble the goings-on in a Western.

The treaty of accession, once it is signed, must be taken as the signal for putting an energetic foot forward along a new and difficult path. *Jürgen Fein*

(Deutsche Zeitung, 17 December 1971)



■ PARTY POLITICS

SPD conference to curb 'fraying at the edge'

The second half of the extraordinary Social Democratic Party conference, held in Bad Godesberg in mid-December with reform of party organisation as the main item on the agenda, left one in no doubt as to the tension and differences of opinion within the SPD.

There was public disagreement both within the party leadership and between the majority of party leaders and the left wing of the delegates.

The most spectacular event was the demonstrative resignation of Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski as the party's business manager and a member of the executive committee.

This was occasioned by the failure of conference to approve by the required two thirds majority the motion to provide in the party constitution for the direct election by the conference of the business manager.

The majority of 175:122 votes in favour being insufficient Wischnewski, who had no more contributed to the debate than had party leaders Willy Brandt and Herbert Wehner, promptly resigned.

The resignation was not altogether unexpected. Both members of the party executive and delegates had anticipated the move should conference fail to approve by a sufficient majority the direct election of the business manager.

After disagreement between the left wing of the party and other delegates and the leadership over the issue of defining the reconcilability of other political activity and party membership the leadership surprisingly managed at the second attempt to arrange a compromise formula.

Conference initially refused to vote by the necessary two thirds majority in favour of an amendment to the party constitution threatening not only those who join, work or stand for another party but also those who lend another party their support with expulsion from the SPD.

Willy Brandt himself explained that the purpose of this amendment was to bring an end to support for the Communist Party by Social Democrats.

Not until the following day was the leadership able to offset this defeat by persuading conference almost unanimously to accept a recommendation by the steering committee couched in the following terms:

"In cases where an SPD member lends support to one of the organisations specified in § 6 of the constitution without the approval of the relevant party authority the provisions of §§ 6, 18 and so on of the statutes shall apply."

Brandt, who expressly and successfully urged conference to accept this formula, told delegates that a two-time refusal to accept a redraft of § 6 would give rise to the impression that support for other political parties was considered to be permissible. This, he said, must be avoided.

The statutes were there to implement the provisions of § 6. This was why it was essential to clarify the position in order to prevent the party from "fraying at the edge."

After this speech the left wing came round to Willy Brandt's point of view and voted almost to a man in favour of the revised formula and Young Socialist leader Karsten Voigt submitted a resolution that was also approved by conference to the effect that resolutions dealing with joint working groups were to be submitted to the executive without further discussion.

One of these proposed changes was that membership of an SPD working group such as the Young Socialists was subject to a special declaration of intent by the member in question.

Further important decisions were reached by the conference, the principal of which being that in states comprising more than one SPD region state associations may be set up as an organisational grouping provided that all the regions affected are in favour of the idea.

This was an important demand made by leading Bavarian Social Democrats including Hans-Jochen Vogel, Chief Burgomaster of Munich.

Members of the control commission, it was further ruled, are no longer to be voting delegates at party conferences. On the other hand the number of delegates to party conferences is to be increased from the present three to four hundred.

The steering committee's recommen[dation] to deprive local branches of the [right] to submit resolutions to conference [on] the ground that the sheer number [of] resolutions was getting out of hand [was] rejected.

So was the attempt to make [the] election of the party presidium a mat[ter] for conference. The presidium will con[tinue] to be elected by the executive.

A majority of delegates voted in fav[our] of publishing a monthly national revi[ew] to be distributed free of charge to pa[rty] members. The magazine will print [an] initial 840,000 copies starting in Janu[ary] 1973.

The minimum age for admission to [the] SPD was fixed at sixteen and the contin[ued] right of control by the executive o[f] party organisations was extended [to] working parties. Conference also agr[eed] to a considerable increase in members[hip] dues.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeit[ung] für Deutschland, 20 December 19[71])



Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt and Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski cast their votes at t[he] Social Democratic constitutional conference in Bad Godesberg (Photo: Sven Sim[on])

Young Socialists must pull their socks up after Hanover congress

No one will have been all that happy about the Hanover Young Socialist conference convened to discuss strategy — neither the Social Democratic observers Klaus Dieter Arndt, Lower Saxony Education Minister Peter von Oertzen and Secretary of State Ehrenberg of the Ministry of Labour nor the Young Socialists themselves.

Even *Frankfurter Rundschau*, generally well disposed towards the Young Socialists, noted an "almost messianic degree of joyful anticipation of crisis-prone capitalism rushing headlong into the Socialists' arms, as it were."

The Young Socialists, who at their 1969 Munich conference set out to become an organisation of left-wing militants bent on providing a socialist alternative to current Social Democratic policy, have had to admit two years later that they lack theoretical unity and practical success.

Their vision of a socialist society has failed to take shape and the dual strategy of transforming the SPD from within and at the same time mobilising tenants, apprentices and bus conductors en masse failed to make headway.

Instead of creating a socialist awareness among the general public the Young Socialists have generated a public distaste for left-wing social criticism.

They have allowed themselves by virtue of their vague policy of forging alliances to be forced into the extreme left-hand corner of the political ring where the SPD rigidly consigns Communists, extremists and dissenters with their busy pens.

In the eyes of the general public the Young Socialists have as a rule been classed as revolutionary bogeymen. The SPD has responded in alarm with disciplinary measures and decisions delimiting the reconcilability of joint membership of or support for other political organisations.

Practical reform proposals such as the widely acknowledged local government and town planning studies of Wolfgang Roth have gone by the board in the Young Socialists' undue haste to progress in a left-wing direction.

Two factions emerged within the Young Socialists at last year's Bremen conference. Karsten Voigt headed a group favouring a stronger mass basis outside the party while Norbert Gansel aimed at improved cooperation with other SPD organisations towards and including the "middle of the road."

This clash of personalities at Bremen ended with a clear victory for Young Socialists leader Voigt but within a year the advocates of mass mobilisation disagreed to such an extent that the Young Socialists can no longer be considered a uniform political association.

There can no longer be any mediation in the dispute over the right path to Socialism. The Young Socialists are disintegrating in factional fighting between Marxists, anti-revisionists and anti-authoritarians, betwenn reformists and Communist supporters.

Divided on the current economic set-up, "transformation of awareness at the base" and cooperation with Communists, the Young Socialists are unable to reach agreement on a common approach.

At times the Hanover conference on strategy called to mind the involved theoretical discussions in the SDS shortly before the Socialists Students' league was disbanded two years ago.

The Young Socialists may not yet have reached the point at which disbandment tendencies are apparent but there can no longer be any denying the existence of centrifugal forces that are growing dangerously close to becoming a law into themselves.

One state chairman of the Young Socialists commented resignedly that "the fronts are so rigid that they can no longer be reconciled by discussions alone."

Karsten Voigt's attempt at Hanover to bring debate to a conclusion by means of voting tactics was successful once again. "A group does not progress by means of debate", he noted afterwards, "but by means of decisions."

Along these lines ideological credos were whipped through conference at Hanover. "What the comrades agreed to agree on," a critical delegate from Schleswig-Holstein commented, "was that the world is full of contradictions."

Delegates did not receive the theoretical paperwork until a few days before the conference, which left no time for discussion at regional level beforehand. They voted on social analyses and targets they had hardly had time to consider.

The Young Socialists face a gloomy future. Political economy, which many members hoped would provide a compact theory, may well prove to have been an ideological explosive.

They seem to have sunk their teeth [in] a theoretical debate on capitalism [and] socialism from which they only occa[sio]nally manage to emerge for "libera[ting] action at the base."

In their present conditions the Yo[ung] Socialists cannot be said to represe[nt a] challenge to the SPD; if anything they [are] a stumbling-block. They are too mu[ch] concerned with themselves and th[eir] in-fighting and their influence within [the] Social Democratic Party will accordin[gly] decline to some considerable extent [in] the near future.

Not even young people, as one dele[gate] irritatedly noted, can be won over [by] means of hackneyed phrases. While so[me] are put off by a Marxist approach oth[ers] join the Communist Party straight aw[ay].

Hanover was an exemplary confere[nce]. In the search for lost ideological unity [the] Young Socialists failed to agree o[n a] common approach. Many groups [were] restrained only by the prospect of [the] 1973 general election from quitting [the] party altogether.

It would appear to be fairly clear [that] the SPD youth organisation is, as fa[r as] many a Marxist is concerned, mere[ly a] stepping-stone towards the more extr[eme] Left.

Sooner or later the Young Socialists [are] going to realise that extreme soci[alist] views will not be gaining currency in [the] Social Democratic Party either now [or] after the next general election. [The] sooner they twig the better as far as [the] party is concerned.

The SPD will save itself trouble and [be] able to provide critical but loyal Yo[ung] Socialists with a broader political b[asis] from which to operate.

Sepp Binde[r]

(Die Zeit, 17 December 1[971])

■ LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Parkinson's Law plunges local authorities into the red

Bonn corporation is going to the dogs, having decided on 16 December as part of a plan to balance the town's 1972 budget to increase dog licences by between eighty and 110 per cent.

This may only be a drop in the ocean but it does indicate the lengths to which local authorities are going to meet the cost of rising expenditure.

Mushrooming local government payrolls are the reason why local taxes and licence fees are on the up and up. Wages and salaries eat up well-nigh all local revenue and Bonn is a particularly bad example of overstaffing. It has an unquestionable surplus of administrative officials.

This surplus is due in part to the continued employment of the entire local government staff of Beuel and Bad Godesberg, two towns that were merged with Bonn not long ago.

With a population of 200,000 the general administration at Bonn town hall employs 212 civil servants. By way of comparison Münster has 103 people doing the same work and Recklinghausen a mere 81.

Local tax revenue in Bonn is handled by a staff of 78, in Münster by 61 civil servants and in Remscheid by a payroll of only 52. For purposes of comparison these figures apply per 100,000 head of population.

With staff variations of this order it is small wonder that the cities are sounding an alarm signal. Only recently the Standing Conference of Town Councils lamented the payroll boom.

The local authorities' financial position resembles that of a restaurateur who is his own best customer. In other words, the rapid rise in local authority employees' earnings is pushing cities and towns headlong into insolvency.

The Cologne Standing Conference listed some ominous figures in its latest survey entitled Determining Factors in Local Authority Staff Expenditure. According to the survey wages and salaries already account for 90.7 per cent of tax revenue!

Local authorities also benefit from state and Federal government subsidies, though, but even so their payroll amounted to 42 per cent of total expenditure in 1970.

In recent years wage and salary increases have been granted that exceed by far the earning power of the civic employers. Since 1961, the Standing Council soberly reports, personnel expenditure has increased by an average ten per cent per annum. Tax revenue increased by an annual average of 6.5 per cent over the same period.

Always assuming that staff costs continue to increase at the present rate they will account for 100 per cent of local authority earnings by 1972 or 1973 at the latest.

Uneasy taxpayers can but wonder what is going to happen and what mistakes have been made in the past to allow things to come to this pass.

Local authorities are reluctant to admit that they and the other employers in the public sector, the Federal government and states, have handed out more in wage and salary increases than there is money in the kitty.

Local government officials' earnings have certainly increased to an impressive extent. In the good years the authorities have taken on more staff than they have needed, too. The well-nigh incredible differences in personnel per head of population prove that something somewhere is seriously amiss.

In addition to straight wage and salary increases expenditure has also risen as a result of generous promotion procedure.

What is more, enormous amounts of money are paid into retirement schemes and, taken as a whole, it is hardly surprising that civil servants are well on the way to landing the authorities in Carey Street.

Wage rates and salary scales are, moreover, so incredibly complex that this continual all-round bleeding of the public purse is virtually impossible to check for critical members of the general public.

Local government officials must, of course, be awarded some recompense for the declining purchasing power of the money in their pockets. They must also be given their share in the general improvement in earnings.

But wage and salary increases must be based on revenue, the thousands of millions of Marks the Federal government, states and local authorities net in taxation. In the long term the civil service cannot afford to live above its means, in other words the increase in tax revenue.

This is harsh criticism and in all fairness it must be allowed that a number of the causes that have led to this payroll boom are not the fault of the local authorities themselves.

The general public expect the authorities to provide an ever-increasing range of services. The Federal and state government frequently require local authorities not only to implement the provisions but also meet the cost of new legislation, both of which the cities and towns can do little about.

More schools, more hospitals, more old folks' homes and more kindergartens necessarily mean more trained staff who cannot be expected to earn much less than they would get in the private sector of the economy.

This is why the Standing Conference makes a point of emphasising that the local authority payroll has been boosted to no small extent by considerable expansion in the educational sector.

Other reasons stated are the regular wage increases awarded to local government wage-earners, the growing number of pensioners, an above-average staff turnover and the employment of part-time staff.

These nonetheless are only a few of the reasons for the incredible increase in staff expenditure. Catchphrases about simplification of administrative procedures appear dismally to have failed to bring about any decrease in the number of staff employed.

In cases where local authorities are merged for purposes of administrative rationalisation there never seems to be a single civil servant laid off. Parkinson's Law continues to apply.

Even on the lower rungs of the ladder civil service appointments would appear to have grown quite attractive. More often than not the only vacancies available are for highly qualified specialist staff.

In view of the wage and salary boom local authorities have started to sound the alarm. In many cases the only way to ensure that staff can be paid is to make substantial cuts in essential services such as the construction of housing, schools and hospitals.

Transport facilities have also been at the receiving end. After years of road-building Cologne, for instance, has now blandly declared that roadworks in the city centre are a waste of time since it is no longer feasible to gear a city entirely to the requirements of vehicular traffic.

One can but wonder whether this realisation might not have been reached at an earlier date rather than now when there is a shortage of funds. If it had been there might now be better Underground and suburban electric railway systems at the general public's disposal.

No particular gift of prophecy is needed to forecast that staff expenditure will on no account decrease. Civil servants are most reluctant to take drastic measures where they themselves are involved.

There are, of course, occasional announcements that this or that local authority plans to reduce the number of people on its payroll by a few hundred.

One of the idiosyncracies of the public sector in this country, however, is that most local authority employees, be they borough surveyors or bus conductors, cannot legally be sacked except in the event of some grave misdemeanour.

So the staff cuts can only be effected by not replacing various grades when they resign or reach retirement age. It will be interesting indeed to see how the authorities plan to set about locating superfluous postings.

Hans Wüllenweber

(Münchner Merkur, 16 December 1971)

Civil service payroll heads for 100-million-mark

Whatever the outcome of the current wage talks between local authorities and public service employees may be, one point is clear. In 1972 overall staff expenditure of the Federal and state governments, local authorities, the railways and the Post Office will exceed 100,000 million Marks for the first time.

As recently as 1968 this figure was a mere 60,000 million. There will thus have been a seventy-per-cent increase over a period of four years. The detailed figures for 1971 are:

Overall staff costs
(in millions of Marks)

	1970	1971
Federal government	14,600	17,200
State administrations	30,500	35,600
Local authorities	15,000	17,100
Railways	9,800	11,500
Post Office	8,800	10,500
	78,700	91,900

The 1971 increase is the largest ever, by 13,200 million Marks or nearly seventeen per cent.

Regardless of the outcome of the current wage talks improvements and alterations already authorised will account for an increase in 1972 cautiously estimated in Bonn to amount to between three and four per cent.

Georg Leber, Minister of Transport and Posts, even expects to spend seven per cent more on staff and a number of state authorities reckon on spending even more.

This means that even at present wage rates next year's payroll outlay in the public sector will amount to at least 95,000 million Marks, while the two trade unions involved are calling for wage and salary increases of 8.5 and nine per cent respectively.

It remains to be seen what increases are agreed but each per cent will unquestionably amount to not far short of a thousand million Marks a year and the 100,000-million-mark that will be exceeded for the first time in 1972 (this enormous sum goes not only towards wages and salaries but also towards staff pensions) has to be paid for out of tax and sales revenue.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 15 December 1971)



(Photo: dpa)

Dynamite Rudi, Frankfurt's new mayor

Frankfurt, which ranks as one of this country's major left-wing cities, seems likely to go through an exciting time now that Rudi Arndt, nicknamed Dynamite Rudi, has been elected Chief Burgomaster in succession to the late Walter Möller.

Arndt, voted into office on 16 December, is known all over the country for his readiness to take a stand in any conflict and become involved in any dispute.

It is none too easy to state exactly where he stands politically but Arndt himself would vigorously object to allegations that he is not a left-winger.

Arndt, 44, can look back on a meteoric rise in state politics. From parliamentary party chairman in the state assembly he graduated, as it were, to Hesse Minister of Economic Affairs and as Minister of Finance was the sole real rival of state Premier Albert Osswald.

He would appear to have accepted the tough post of Chief Burgomaster of Frankfurt for party reasons and, like the difficulty one has in labelling him, this is doubtless due to his sense of reality.

In political terms unquestionably the most powerful and noteworthy man in Hesse, Rudi Arndt has more in common with the old guard than with the Young Socialists he likes to associate with.

His childhood memories include the Nazis beating up his father and he read Marx when many a fashionable latter-day socialist was still being taken out for drives in daddy's Mercedes.

Arndt is not the man to forget the hard times people went through after the war or the importance of economic progress for the working man.

As a result he enjoys rubbing utopian noses in reality. There may be an element of showmanship in this but Dynamite Rudi always makes sure he has sound arguments in reserve before crossing swords.

Hesse's Social Democrats were still beavering away at reforms of one kind and another when Arndt as Finance Minister inconveniently pointed out that the 1972 budget deficit threatened to amount to three times the amount originally intended.

In particular he levelled accusations at Education Minister von Friedeburg. For this he was reprimanded and the Cabinet affirmed its confidence in the Minister of Education. But the parliamentary party — quietly and at a later date — nonetheless demanded a detailed report from the Ministry of Education.

Joachim Neander

(Die Welt, 18 December 1971)

THE ECONOMY

Economic policymaking is a game of chance at present

Free fall – that is the state in which the economic and industrial situation of the Federal Republic has become trapped at the moment, according to Klaus-Dieter Arndt, the former parliamentary State secretary to the Ministry of Economic Affairs in Bonn, who is all in favour of taking steps to remedy the situation at once.

He said: "I would do everything in my power to stop the downward slide."

Karl Schiller's ministry obviously does not view the situation with quite so much urgency, but the disappointment in the ministry was quite intense when the Bundesbank recently announced that it was not prepared to take the line so urgently recommended by Professor Schiller – namely a further relaxation of credit restrictions.

The bank of issue explains the reason for its delaying action in its latest situation report. But this analysis is full of ifs and buts. Objectively speaking its findings are by no means negative; but on the other hand the Bundesbank shows "great understanding for the highly pessimistic appraisal of the state of the



economy by industrialists at the moment".

The level of wage and salary increases has, the Bundesbank reports, not yet adjusted to the latest state of affairs. But in the offices of the top men at the Bundesbank the greatest respect would appear to be shown for the massive deficits that are likely to affect the budget and hit government spending.

It is well known in Bundesbank circles in Frankfurt that the only way to make up for deficits this large is to get the printing presses churning out lots of new money.

Reserves available will be quite insufficient to meet needs. Presumably the main reason why the bank of issue is not now prepared to turn on the taps and get the money flowing again is that in the course of the next year this will be the only opportunity to avoid a complete collapse of public finances.

Another factor to be taken into account is the supply of money from abroad despite the floating rates of exchange and despite the efforts to impose restrictions, which mean that the economy will have to grow into the monetary cloak.

A point in favour of the Bundesbank's decision is that first and foremost the right conditions for beneficial investments promising profit must be created by overcoming rising costs and the resultant inflation before injections of liquid cash can hope to achieve any success.

The bank of issue cannot be criticised for making its appraisal of the situation subject to several unknown factors. The state of industry and the economy at the moment is as difficult to gauge as it has ever been.

This uncertainty alone, with all its disruptive effects on a country so dependent on exports, makes all forecasts into something of a lottery. The continuation of the experiment of floating the Mark on foreign currency exchange markets is obviously causing the Bundesbank growing discomfort. Reading between the lines of the bank's latest situation report we can see that is considers the level to which revaluation of the Mark has progressed at present to be intolerable.

Walter Slotosch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 December 1971)

Man in the street less ready to spend

In the first six months of 1971 the sales potential of consumer goods in this country continued to decline, according to the latest figures published by the Ifo Institute for Economic Research in Munich. And judging by experience in previous economic cycles a further slackening off of sales of consumer goods can be expected in the months to come.

One of the major slumps is expected to be in the sale of cars. The trend is likely to be bolstered by the fact that the increase in the amount of money available for spending by private persons will not be at such a great rate.

A detectable influence could also come from the preparedness of people to spend money which is to a large degree determined by psychological factors.

According to Ifo's researches the preparedness to spend is increasing in importance compared with the ability to spend which is determined by income, savings and credit ratings. Readiness to part with money is more and more determining whether the man in the street will buy long-life consumer goods.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 December 1971)

Balance of economic power
(performance in billions of dollars at 1971 prices)

1950: USA 494; Japan 34; Western Europe 324

1971: USA 1068; Japan 225; Western Europe 847: Federal Republic of Germany 206, France 165, Italy 101, Other EEC countries 63, Britain 129, Rest of Western Europe 183

Sum total: 1072

Internal problems threaten to make 1972 tough for EEC

The European Communities and three of the applicant countries have made it! The agreement on fishing rights concluded by the EEC, Great Britain, Denmark and Eire marks the end of the steeplechase towards entry. The last major hurdle has now been overcome.

Of course there are still going to be tough debates with Norway. But for those who share the optimism of Bonn Foreign Minister Walter Scheel after a long, hard night in Brussels even this is a barrier that is far from insurmountable.

By mid-January the Treaty of Accession should be signed.

It has taken exactly eighteen months for the Six and their future partners to make the preparations. They were able to draw on experience gained in the first round of negotiations in 1962/63, which were brusquely interrupted by the de Gaulle veto.

This time again it was a French head of State who held the key to success or failure with his *oui* or *non*. It was not till the summit conference between President Georges Pompidou of France and Prime Minister Edward Heath of Great Britain in May this year that the gummed up works of entry negotiations roared into action again.

This was not the first time bilateral conferences at the highest level have rescued the EEC from a crisis. A similar case was the West German-French consultations preceding the compromise decision on an economic and currency union.

The meeting between President Pompidou and US President Richard Nixon was expected to lead to the European Commission being given the green light to start negotiations with the United States.

It is on the cards that summit meetings of this kind will take place repeatedly in the immediate future. The end of the transitional period for the EEC two years ago with the completion of the agricultural market and the customs union exhausted the Rome Treaties to a great extent.

With these aims completed new ones must be found, especially as the Community will soon comprise not six but ten countries. Thus there has been a call already for another summit conference, although there is no chance of this taking place before the second half of next year.

There are crises surrounding almost all the spheres of Common Market interests for which the EEC treaty contains no rules, or only the bare outlines of rules and the partner countries still have to devise their own programmes.

The most important move towards an extension of the ambitions of the European Economic Community which came with the decision last February to extend it to form an economic and currency union has been delayed considerably by the international currency crisis which cropped up in the meantime.

This worldwide conflict showed clearly how slim the desire for cooperation all round is when the crunch comes and how slim is the basis of the compromise reached in February.

Little remains, too, of the basic decisions taken by the agriculture ministers in March this year on the reform of the structure of the agricultural market.

One or two rounds of talks have shown that the major differences of opinion that still exist are not the kind that can be overcome without great difficulty.

And the first steps towards a community industrial policy seem to have got bogged down in controversies to a large



extent which, as is so often the case, have their roots in the differing ideas on the economic setup of the Market and the ways and extent to which the Market should be opened to the outside world.

A complete disaster ensued from the EEC's attempts to formulate a regional policy. The latest example of the internal crisis symptoms in the EEC is still only days old – the complete failure of the Council meeting of Euratom.

The unsuccessful efforts of European ministers of science to reach agreement is yet another sign that the prospect of the EEC soon comprising ten members may mean that the internal development of the Common Market in the near future will be impeded.

The argument that after the extension of the Community the applicant countries must get together with the original six and create a communal European technology programme at least aggravated the inhibitions of some of the countries.

The conclusion of the greater part of the work of extending the Community with the completion of agreements with Great Britain, Eire, and presumably Norway in the near future, is of course to be regarded as a major success.

But the internal developments within the EEC show that the Common Market is in for a tough year. Following the successful negotiation of the last hurdle before entry and presumably the settlement of the international currency crisis as well it is once again a question of everyday chores, although accurate instructions of what must be done are missing.

Eberhard Wisdorff

(Die Welt, 13 December 1971)

CAREERS

Apprentices have grievances to air about training



Craftsmanship is certainly not a vocation that provides pockets lined with gold – at least not since the days of the guilds and the poetic shoemaker Hans Sachs.

But the crafts do offer apprentices additional courses, quite apart from their ordinary vocational training, so that they may obtain skills other than their chosen specialised field. At any rate this gives them a decided advantage over their counterparts under the aegis of the Chambers of Trade and Commerce.

Take Hamburg for example: In 1970, of the 8,700 apprentices in the city state more than 5,000 were in the 26 workshops belonging to the guild, having to adjust to technological progress and kept from further education in their skill designed to meet their own needs.

Werner Korella, the head of the newly built education centre for workers in the metal industries, can quote figures: the workshop cost a million excluding the cost of land and equipment. The State forked out 560,000 Marks. For the rest the guild had to dig into its own funds.

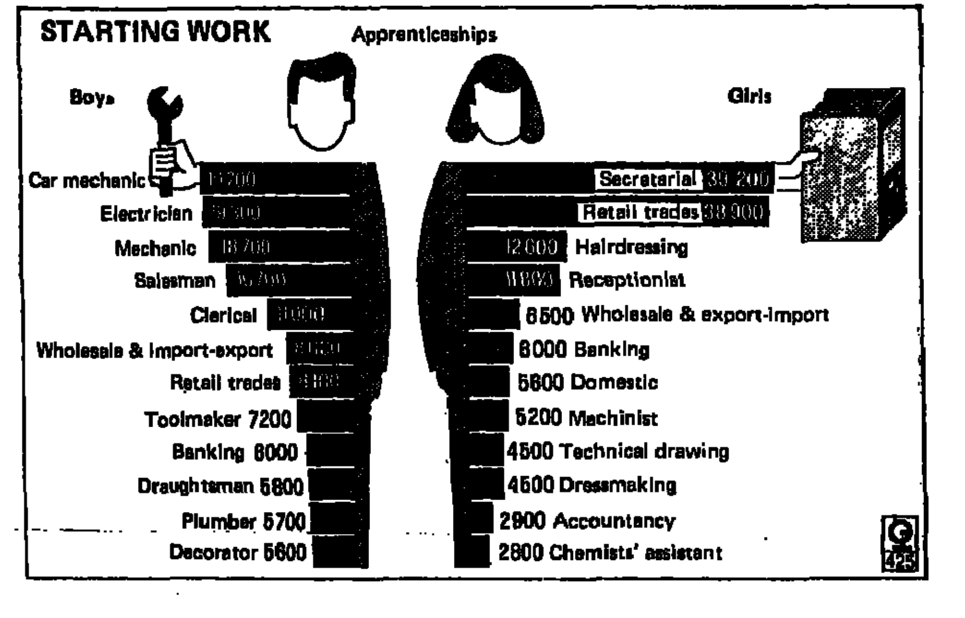
Therefore craftsmen are prepared to pay for the training of their apprentices. To complete the circle of figures, the more than 400 courses in 1970 – of four weeks or mure duration – cost the guilds and chambers a small fortune. It is perhaps some cold comfort for people who are still smarting over the latest bill for a piece of plumbing or interior decorating that craftsmen themselves sometimes have to do some paying out.

And what do the apprentices themselves think about further training? Werner Korella admits that he is often "shattered" at the lack of enthusiasm of the lads taking part in the courses he organises. This is particularly surprising since the main basis of agitation on the part of the apprentices is the protest against unilateral courses of further training designed to benefit the trade, but not necessarily to take care of the best interests of the apprentices.

But in the specially organised discussion evenings and elsewhere it rarely gets as far as a serious debate. The apprentices come up with few suggestions for improving their lot and little in the way of criticism about how their trade is organised.

How come the chambers have not yet been sufficiently aware that they should underline the work being done by their training centres? Demands, totally ignoring the financial situation, that have been made by certain groups for State training of apprentices in workshops fully independent of firms could have been directed into realistic channels.

For instance there could have been a move for more government money to be provided for centres that were independent of firms, stronger legal control of companies and independent training centres as well as a booster for training at school, making this compulsory up till the tenth school year which is devoted to practical working training. This is a point that



representatives of the crafts have been demanding energetically, since it is their responsibility to train two thirds of the total number of apprentices.

Horst Storjohann, press spokesman for the chamber of crafts in Hamburg complains that the publicity given to this matter so far has been "appalling". But policies are already planned and to a certain extent have been carried out.

Bright orange stickers are to be issued proclaiming the value of crafts and education in these many-sided skills. If this makes only half as much impression on the public as the Rehwinkel slogan a few years since: *Landwirtschaft dient allen* (farming serves us all) then the campaign will be a great success.

Talking of Rehwinkel, a more lively leader of the craftsmen's association would almost certainly have been able to present a far less dusty picture of the crafts to the public. But the President of the association, Joseph Wild is all too sturdy and often resembles an immovable object. When meeting the public he tended to underline traditional ideas.

In a *Spiegel* interview, for instance, he said that as far as fetching the beer was concerned: "It goes without saying that the same one cannot be sent every time. The apprentices must draw up their own rota."

Fetching beer and sweeping floors are not the heart of the problem. Bringing cigarettes for the master craftsman every day and sweeping up are not jobs the apprentices should be encouraged to shun. The latter is in fact necessary.

What is wrong is that too many people view the period of apprenticeship as simply a time of learning and not a time of expanding the capabilities, which must be kept free from certain pressures exerted by the production process.

Apprentices have a right to this freedom as much as their contemporaries studying at school or university. This is a decisive point and the apprentices must not give up their protest too easily.

If they do give up they may live to regret it and in their old age look back on the days when they listened passively to what Herr Wild said: "Apprentices have never had it so good."

Albert Röhl

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 12 December 1971)

Money not everything, many industrial workers feel

Times when a fat paypacket was the main incentive for workers to strive hard seem to be gone in many companies today. Other motivations have to a greater or lesser extent replaced the lure of good remuneration.

A survey conducted among workers at the Messerschmidt-Bölkow-Blohm group of companies show that salaries take no higher than fifth place in the list of most important considerations for keeping the workers happy and industrious.

The rocket-builders claimed that the division of duties, opportunities for promotion and the type of management were more important to them than what they were paid. One factor they did place lower on their list than pay was consideration for the image and prestige of the firm.

Industrial leaders in days of yore worked on the assumption that the main thing that kept their workers going was unfulfilled ambitions, and so they went out of their way to make sure that their workers' ambitions were never fulfilled! In fact they made sure their staff lacked many of the basic essentials.

Modern-day managers try to make sure they understand what their staff need so that these needs can be fulfilled. This is not done for basically humanitarian reasons so much as from recognition of the fact that workers who have an ambition which they know can be realised are more efficient, purposeful and thus of greater economic value to the firm.

Back in the fifties the American Abraham Maslow constructed a "pyramid of needs". The base of this was made up predominantly of material requirements, needless to say, and the urge towards self-assertion. One stage up came the need to make secure the material benefits that had already been gained.

Contact with other people within a social group and the desire to achieve recognition came next, as socially motivated needs.

At the top of the pyramid came the need for the worker to justify his own existence.

If managers can come to realise what are the motivations behind their work force, what keeps the workers working, then they have a far better chance of boosting productivity.

For this reason August Sahm, the personnel expert at Messerschmidt-Bölkow-Blohm, has redefined the task of management thus: "Management must come more and more to mean putting up aims for the work force to see, defining duties which the labour force can achieve on their own and from which they can gain a sense of achievement."

According to this theory of motivation, then, new wishes only come to light when the basic requirements of the ordinary working man have been met.

And so quite a comparatively large number of companies are striving against mamagement by motivation. For they have still not carried out important basic requirements such as providing adequate salaries according to productivity and safe and healthy places of work.

One of the definite exceptions to this rule is the office machinery manufacturers Rank Xerox. They have worked out a system of welfare for their workers providing a pension of 2,000 Marks per month even for some of the workers lower down the scale.

Sickness and life insurance organised by the firm in question are among the aspects of the motivation factor, security. Other aspects are job protection and further vocational training.

The head of the vocational training department at IBM, Horst Birk, has all leading managerial staff back at the school desk at least once every year. Their remunerative work is to be and remain unendangered.

When the motives of pay and security have been satisfied there often arises the desire for contact and communication. This can be satisfied, for example, by teamwork. IBM has shown another way of doing it. All their workers who have a problem can take it to their immediate superior, to the management or to a neutral.

Thus workers and their superiors have the constant right and duty to obtain information. For August Sahm for one "dissemination of information is one of the most imporant prerequisites for matter-of-fact, personal, satisfying and successful cooperation."

Is motivation just a disguised form of manipulation? Herr Sahm contradicts this idea. "If a worker cannot identify himself with the jobs put before him ... factors that are not an intrinsic part of the activity itself determine what his achievements will be."

But motivation is designed to bolster identification with the job of work so that the worker does his job from purely personal motives. Herr Sahm's comment: "Motivation towards freedom is hardly manipulation."

I.R.G. Ferguson, manager of Urwick International in Düsseldorf is also a champion of management through motivation. On the basis of this his firm has developed its own pattern of management correcting the old idea of management as being to get things done *by* men. The modern idea is to do things *with* men.

Of course difficulties may arise when companies convert to such methods. But Dietmar Werthmann of König Brewery in Duisburg warns that such plans should not be given up too hastily.

He said: "It is clear that a system designed to make permanent changes to the way workers think and act is not going to lead to obvious benefits in a mere matter of months. It is necessary to have more patience."

Hans-Dieter Kulhay

(Die Zeit, 17 December 1971)



■ AVIATION

Go-ahead for airbus and Concorde

Christmas presents for the aviation industry have been forthcoming in Bonn and London. After prolonged hesitation the go-ahead has been given for the Franco-Federal Republic airbus in Bonn and the Anglo-French Concorde in London.

In both cases the industry has France to thank. The French lent the airbus in Bonn and the Concorde in London massive diplomatic support.

In London French Transport Minister Jean Chamont convinced British Aviation Minister Frederick Corfield with the result that the first and to date only Western SST is to be manufactured in a long run.

"We have enabled the manufacturers (Aérospatiale in France and BAC in England)," Mr Corfield said, "to start selling."

The price is to be so low that, in Mr Corfield's words, the Concorde will be "a damned good buy." At roughly 100 million Marks a time, however, it remains the world's most expensive commercial aircraft.

Arguments about the supersonic Concorde would thus seem to be over and done with. "A major setback would need to occur," the British now say, "to prevent the aircraft from being taken into service in 1974."

A year ago a more pessimistic note was sounded. It seemed fairly certain that Whitehall would back out of this expensive prestige project.

But French pressure, successful trials of the first two prototypes and the danger of mass unemployment in the aviation industry have combined to make Mr Heath and his Cabinet reconsider the position.

Supersonic aviation nonetheless remains an expensive proposition for the taxpayer. The Concorde project will cost nearly 10,000 million Marks and there is no prospect of covering the costs.

Regardless whether only fifty Concordes are sold, as pessimists fear, or 150 find a buyer, as optimists maintain, there is not the slightest chance of making a profit.

In contrast with the clear decision reached in London Bonn has not felt able to give the airbus an unconditional go-ahead. On the other hand the Federal government would appear no longer to be thinking in terms of suddenly abandoning the joint project.

And over the past year there has been no shortage of rumours in Bonn that this country was about to pull out, not to mention critics calling the airbus an expensive and hopeless venture.

From the start, however, the existence of the treaty of state with France made it appear unlikely that this country would consider unilaterally abandoning the airbus project.

Since the French government wants to manufacture the airbus come what may there can be no question of revoking the treaty and a unilateral move by this country would have represented a considerable strain on Franco-Federal Republic relations.

The treaty was signed in Paris in 1969 by Economic Affairs Minister Schiller and Transport Minister Chamont. The two countries undertook jointly to finance the development of a short-haul jumbo, the A 300 B airbus.

The treaty dealt only with the probable amount and distribution of development costs. Agreement on special expenditure, financing of manufacture and airbus sales were not reached.

The enormous cost to the taxpayer in this country did not become apparent until earlier this year when Franz Josef Strauss as supervisory board chairman of the airbus holding company, with headquarters in Paris, and one of the principal German advocates of the airbus project made fresh demands on Bonn.

– Extension of the range will increase development costs by some 260 million Marks.

– To finance the manufacture of the airbus Bonn must underwrite expenditure to the tune of 1,500 million Marks.

– Sales financing must be backed by government interest subsidies amounting to an initial 800 million Marks.

Were all these demands to be met this country would be increasing its financial participation to several times the sum originally agreed.

By the terms of the treaty each country was to contribute 872 million Marks towards development costs. As the Federal government was able to persuade the two German firms involved (Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and VFW-Fokker) to foot ten per cent of the bill Bonn was to pay 795 million Marks.

Rising costs alone will by 1976 have increased the original estimate to roughly 1,200 million Marks.

Government backing for funding the manufacture of the airbus has hardly come as a surprise demand. It was clear from the start that no bank was going to loan the two capital-starved German firms thousands of millions of Marks for a risky project without government backing.

So far, however, the Federal government has failed to underwrite a loan, evidently because it was no longer as convinced of the need for the airbus as it had been at the time of the treaty.

The demand for subsidies to cover interest in sales financing can hardly have come as a surprise either. For years the Americans, British and French have subsidised aircraft exports.

As a rule customers are allowed loans of ten years or so at six per cent interest. In order to offer similar terms the airbus manufacturers were bound to have to rely on government subsidies.

Additional development costs have, however, come as a genuine surprise. They arose when the airbus manufacturers started to design versions not agreed in the original treaty. In addition to the A 300 B-1 there was suddenly a B-2 and a B-4.

According to Franz Josef Strauss this was for "essential economic reasons." It is certainly to cost the Federal government a further half-share of the additional costs, or roughly 130 million Marks.

Yet the B-2 is first and foremost a special design to meet the requirements of Air France, which wanted an elongated fuselage capable of seating 283 rather than 254 passengers. Air France have now placed a firm order for six B-2s and an option for a further ten.

The next country to specify individual requirements was Spain, which wanted both a longer fuselage and larger fuel tanks to increase the airbus's range. This version was the B-4, which the Spaniards promptly ordered.

This was grist to the mill of opponents of the entire project. What use, they asked, was a plane that customers were so hesitant to order that expensive modifications had first to be made?

Doubtful sales prospects were not the only threat to continuation with the airbus project in Bonn. Cuts in government spending also proved necessary.

At the Cabinet meeting held to decide the fate of this country's share in the project the Foreign Office and the Economic Affairs and Finance Ministry were in favour of the airbus, the Ministries of Defence and Science opposed to the expense.

So it was that Karl Schiller as the signatory of the 1969 treaty, Franz Josef Strauss as an airbus company director and the entire Federal Republic aviation industry joined forces in support of the most expensive aircraft venture in which this country has ever participated.

Provided Bonn continues to lend the project its support the airbus, like the Concorde, will be in regular service by the year after next.

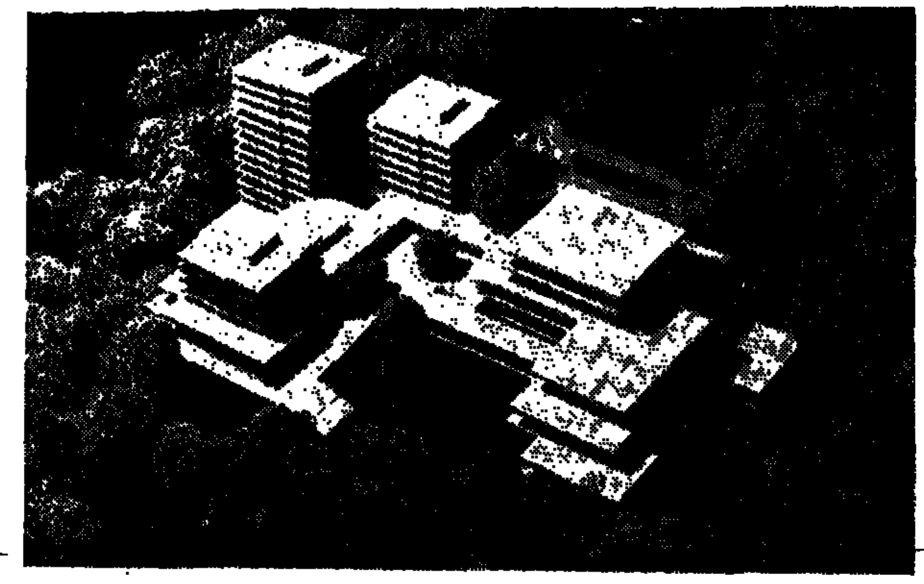
Not until the end of the decade, however, will it be apparent whether the repeatedly declared French aim of breaking the American monopoly of the air is feasible or not.

Even then the aircraft with the better prospect of achieving success, the airbus, is dependent on American support in that the engines and a fair amount of sophisticated technical equipment are to be supplied by the United States.

In all the Americans will be responsible for 22 per cent of the cost price of each airbus manufactured.

Rolf Diekhof

(Die Zeit, 17 December 1971)



Staff training centre for Lufthansa

Lufthansa are to build the world's most up-to-date training centre for airline staff in Seeheim, Hesse, at a cost of 34 million Marks. The foundation stone of the project, of which a model is here seen, was laid on 16 December 1971 and construction work is scheduled for completion in October 1973. In 380 courses a year some six thousand sales and operational staff are to be trained and refreshed. (Photo: Lufthansa-Archiv)

IATA reaches North Atlantic air fare agreement

North Atlantic air fares agreement has at long last been reached at an IATA conference in Geneva. A four-dollar increase on the Honolulu compromise proposal replaces the taxation offset surcharge of one per cent originally mooted.

The return air fare between New York and either Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Oslo, Geneva or Zurich in the tourist class is now to be 640 dollars in summer, 504 dollars in spring and autumn and 464 dollars in winter.

The first-class fare has been increased by four dollars to 870 dollars but the new fares agreement, which is to come into force on 1 April 1972, involves a considerable price breakthrough in IT rates.

The 22- or 45-day holiday rate during a six-month winter season has been cut by 88 dollars to 224 dollars and during a three-months summer season 314 dollars, a reduction of 58 dollars on the current fare. The pre-season rate is to be slashed by 68 dollars to 244 dollars.

The third category is the rate for young people between the ages of twelve and 21, who will be able to fly to North America for 224, 244 and 314 dollars according to the season, the same fare as IT adults regardless of the length of stay, that is.

In the fourth category, group travel (for groups of at least thirty people), the return fares according to season are to be 194, 224 and 294 dollars respectively. The party rate for groups of at least fifteen on two- or three-week holidays will be 264 or 324 dollars.

To promote winter sports a special winter rate for groups of at least ten taking seven- or eight-day holidays is to be introduced and will amount to 219 dollars. These winter rates will apply from 15 January 1972.

In the event of an alteration in the exchange rate of the dollar an extraordinary IATA conference was to be held but, an IATA spokesman noted, it was by no means certain that there would be any alterations to the fares agreement as a result.

This, he said, would depend on the extent of a change in the dollar rate and on the market situation on the North Atlantic run.

(Die Welt, 14 December 1971)

Airlines still stand to lose a packet on North Atlantic run

Airline fares negotiators have taken ten days to reach agreement in Geneva and so forestalled a price war over the North Atlantic. The boards of 2[illegible] airlines on the North Atlantic run had made their peace at a previous meeting in Hawaii.

From 1 April 1972 flights between Europe and North America are to be less expensive, though not as inexpensive as Lufthansa had hoped.

The fares specialists of IATA airlines have made next to no changes to the Honolulu proposals, apart, that is, from a four-dollar surcharge to take account, on paper at least, of the rising cost of air safety control.

Even though agreement has been reached, however, doubts remain as to whether the airlines have less trouble on their hands.

On both regular and charter services airlines have made considerable losses over the last two years on the busiest run in the world (and once upon a time the most lucrative too).

For the foreseeable future this will no doubt remain the case. The number of North Atlantic passengers may increase from one year to the next but seating capacity has increased even more swiftly.

The pressure on prices that has resulted has led to the fare cuts now agreed. But there is still no guarantee that the number of passengers per flight will increase.

Flights might well continue to be half-empty and losses even more substantial as a result of the latest fare cuts.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 December 1971)

■ RESEARCH

Cut-price space rocket study drafted

Kieler Nachrichten

Satellite rockets could be considerably simplified and manufactured at a far lower cost with no decline in performance according to a Stuttgart survey commissioned by the Bonn Space Research Association on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Scientific Research.

The survey proposes the construction of a 32-metre three-stage rocket system consisting of similar propulsion units, three dozen per stage.

Six bundles of propulsion units forming the first stage of the rocket encircle the second and third stages which protrude once the first stage has burnt out and put the satellite into orbit.

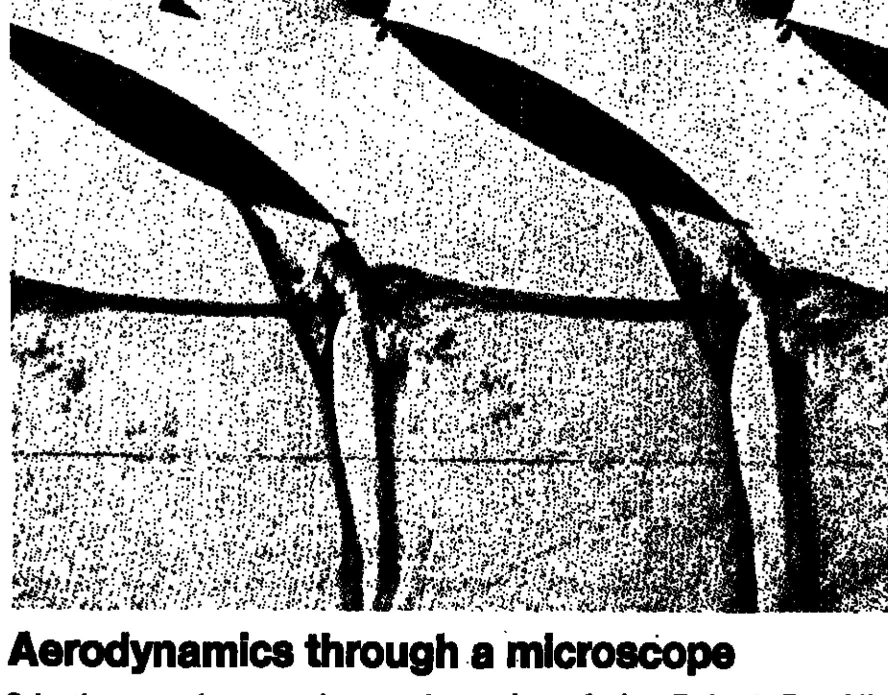
According to the Stuttgart research consultants the rocket would cost 500 million Marks to develop and put ten tons of payload into orbit at a height of 200 kilometres. In comparison development work on the Europa 3 rocket will cost some 2,500 million Marks.

The new cut-price rocket, the survey concludes, would facilitate industrial utilisation of space since the cost of putting a kilo of payload into orbit could in time be reduced to 1,000 Marks. Using American rockets the cost varies between 10,000 and 100,000 Marks per kilogramme.

The Stuttgart design foregoes fuel pumps, regenerative refrigeration, expensive high-performance fuels and hydraulic systems. The tanks are made of spiral-weld conventional pipeline.

Low-cost studies have been commissioned from a further two Federal Republic firms.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 13 December 1971)



Aerodynamics through a microscope

Scientists at the annual general meeting of the Federal Republic Aerospace Research Institute noted that much of their work has a fair amount of spin-off that is of direct benefit for industry. This picture of current slicks through a transsonic acceleration lattice taken at the Göttingen aerodynamics research institute, for instance, may well cut the cost of generating electric power. Power station turbines and generators are directly linked and output speeds can be supersonic. Boosting input speed could further cut costs and the Göttingen research team are engaged in experimental work on aerodynamic aspects of the problem. (Photo: AVA)

Biostack capsule passes Nasa test

Europe's first space bio-programme on which a biophysics space research group at Frankfurt University, headed by Dr Horst Bücker, has been working for months has passed the crucial Nasa test.

It has thus scaled one of the major hurdles by way of official qualification for the Apollo 16 flight on 17 March next.

The Biostack capsule, weighing a little over three pounds, contains nuclear trace emulsions, plastic detectors and a complete biological programme.

The biological payload includes cress seed, samples of hay bacillus spore, bean seed roots and crab spawn. The biological package is housed in foil-type plates into which the seed has been moulded.

The purpose of the aluminium capsule designed to accompany Apollo 16 on its journey to the Moon is to determine the biological effect of heavy particles of cosmic radiation.

Funds for the Frankfurt research programme have been made available by the Federal Ministry of Scientific Research.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 13 December 1971)

Dornier missile

Dornier of Munich and Friedrichshafen have developed a new military reconnaissance missile, the corps reconnaissance drone, or KAD.

It resembles a clipped-wing rocket in shape and can brake down from "high subsonic speeds" to make a precise vertical landing with the aid of helicopter-like rotor blades.

The device is unmanned and remote-controlled.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 2 December 1971)

■ CINEMA

Schaaf's 'Trotta' probes demise of Austro-Hungary

Johannes Schaaf's film *Trotta* appears as an attempt to reconstruct a situation of turmoil and disorientation amid the collapse of a social system, namely the Austro-Hungarian monarchy after the Great War.

Schaaf attempts to catch the mood of the day, depression, resignation and melancholy providing the atmosphere of the film and a general sense of frustration and impotence to do anything characterising the protagonists.

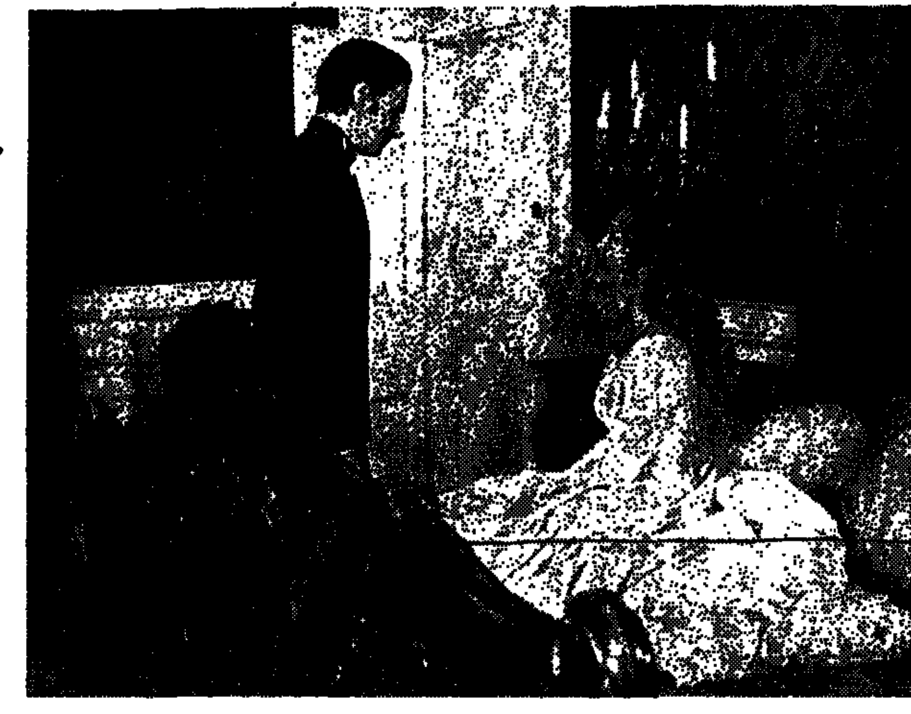
While the revolution rages outside the war comrades gathered together in the Trotta family lodgings play bridge, not bothered by the changes that are necessary, and disinterested in them.

There is a lot to be said for the idea that Schaaf has created this film along contemporary social lines, especially as he as a man of letters criticises a Social Democrat in the film for reformism and praises the Communists for their rejection of the system. At any rate, as the director of the film he puts himself in precisely the position he is challenging. Is this therefore self-criticism filled with irony and detachment?

A significance of this kind is more easily based on the atmospheric flair of the fin-de-siècle mood which the film conjures up than on the story that it tells: For the characters and their fate are taken in far too individual a manner by Schaaf for the typical nature of the epoch to be expressed immediately and naturally by them.

Particularly Baron Trotta, who returns home from the War completely disjointed and finds his wife in the arms of an intellectual, who of course in his turn considers the husband a disruptive force, does not reflect the chaos of this epoch to the degree of complexity that is necessary.

And the characters of his wife Elisabeth and of her friend Almarin are not determined by the experiences of the War and the disappointments men have prepared for them as the situation demands.



Still from Johannes Schaaf's *Trotta*
(Photo: Constantin/Teampress)

In the end both emigrate to America and Trotta tries to kill himself. He fails and gives up the attempt.

He is too cowardly to do himself in and cowardliness is the characteristic that Schaaf sees as typifying the other War companions of Trotta, a cowardliness that prevents them taking part in activities to change society as the Communist party is seen to do in the film.

The complement of their cravenness is resignation. Schaaf never expresses this directly, but it is hinted at in a scene in which Trotta is drawing up a balance sheet and accuses himself and those War comrades who are still alive of not being fit for the hero's death. In this context this cannot be taken as a militaristic argumentation.

The most precisely drawn character is the Polish nobleman Chojnicki, another fighting companion of Trotta who is driven to alcoholism by the collapse of the monarchy and the loss of his privileges. He ends up in an asylum.

The Jew Reisinger is also precisely drawn. He was formerly Trotta's chauffeur and after the War works in a factory. His son is a musical genius who is shot as an active Communist.

Wolfgang R. Köhler
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 December 1971)

Brandler films mountain horror

In 1961 an international climbing team from Chamonix sets out to conquer Freney in the Mont Blanc group of mountains for the first time. But one stroke of lightning, virtually from a clear sky shortly before the summit it reached forces the team to make perhaps the most dramatic descent in the history of mountaineering. Four of the seven climbers lose their lives.

Time and again filmmakers have tried to bring this tense and catastrophic climb to the silver screen. But each time their plans were foiled by the difficulties of taking authentic location shots.

For the Freney Pillar is almost vertical and about 3,250 feet high. It is a rock face presenting the most extreme difficulties. Now, ten years after the disaster Lothar Brandler form Munich is making a film of the ill-starred climb.

Brandler is one of the most successful West German documentary filmmakers with numerous international awards to his name. All outdoor shots in his film, entitled *Der Blitz* (Lightning) are taken on the actual scene of the climb.

Even the fateful flash of lightning is produced by Nature and not the effects men. Brandler had to wait for several weeks in a hole dug in the snow for the lightning, to recapture the sudden flash on a clear day in 1961 which completely surprised the seven climbers, cost Frenchman Pierre Kohlmann his sense of hearing immediately and severely injured the other climers.

As the wounded man began their descent the bad weather closed in on them. Only three were able to make it and the other four suffered grave injuries.

Brandler's film is a dramatised documentary. Authenticity is guaranteed by one of the original team that made the ill-fated climb. He is Pierre Mazeaud, today a member of the French parliament, and plays a role is the film himself.

The other main roles are taken by an international cast – Andi Schlick from Austria, Milan Dubek from Czechoslovakia, Natascha Bansa from Yugoslavia, Andrea Cordoni from Italy and the Germans Walter Grimm and Gerhard Grossmann.

This full-length feature film is being shot in colour and will be showing from next February. *Günther Menthen*
(Kieler Nachrichten, 15 December 1971)



Scene from Lothar Brandler's *Der Blitz*
(Photo: Günther Menthen)

Kuratorium needs more cash to back films

The "Kuratorium deutscher Film" (West German Film Control Board) has been in existence for five years during which time it has backed 34 feature films and more than twenty shorts.

The Kuratorium came into being following years of tortuous negotiations after the "Oberhausen Manifesto" which provided for a complete overhaul of the West German film.

At first the Ministry of the Interior in Bonn gave help in the founding of the Kuratorium and then handed it over to the constitutional control of the Federal states, which – despite financial difficulties – took this duty seriously and now make 750,000 Marks available annually for the Kuratorium.

Originally these monies were intended to promote the project, but then as the number of films backed grew each year and no backers could be found, nor could television be made to take an interest, the Kuratorium decided this year that first and foremost its duty should be distribution promotion. That is to say they offered their help to various interested groups of filmmakers.

This is how the 750,000 Marks were divided up: 500,000 went to the filmmakers, who used half o this money to set up a distribution bureau and the other half to make copies of their films and print information sheets about their work.

One of the main reasons why distributors were not prepared to take films from the Kuratorium under their wing was that even interested parties were unable to see copies of the films that had been promoted.

The remaining third of the Kuratorium grant went to "free" cinemas, such as the *Arsenal* in Berlin, and Hamburg's *Abaton*, as well as one or two other centres for running films, including a number of community cinemas.

In this way it was possible to guarantee the 34 feature films and five short-film programme a showing.

The realisation of those concerned that they must band together and form a group to promote distribution has tended to make promotion of actual projects take a back seat.



Thus the Kuratorium will have to find funds so that this plan can also be put into action without detriment to the distribution promotion plans. As things stand at the moment the Kuratorium must give young up-and-coming directors a boost in their career if it is to fulfil its prescribed duties and to do so it must throw off its narrow political outlook in favour of a far more broadly based artistic policy.

These are aims that cannot be realised on the basis of free development of the market. To achieve this it is important for organisations dedicated to promotions of the arts to step in, and it is precisely in this sphere that the "Kuratorium junger deutscher Film" must be given a new infusion of funds apart from the money from the Federal states. On the grounds of fairness this money should amount to the same sum, 750,000 Marks, and it should be used for the promotion of actual works rather than organisation and distribution.

The Federal states have no spare cash. Bonn has no spare cash. But it does have the UFI special reserve which is designed to sponsor the film industry.

Kurt Joachim Fischer
(Die Welt, 14 December 1971)

■ THE STAGE

Applause for Bremen poisoner

The question will always be asked whether Geesche Gottfried, a notorious poisoner 140 years ago in Bremen, was an ally of the devil or an extreme supporter of the women's liberation movement.

Fifteen people fell victim to her urge for freedom and another fifteen only escaped by the skin of their teeth. Geesche Gottfried was always very liberal with her sweet, poisonous coffee. Strong stuff for the late-night performance at Hamburg's Thalia Theater.

An historical description of the life and trial of Geesche Gottfried admits that there is cause for misgivings. The murderess has not been completely understood.

True to the spirit of our times, Rainer Werner Fassbinder, at 25 one of West Germany's youngest and most productive playwrights, demands a social interpretation of the events in Bremen.

His "bourgeois tragedy" performed in Hamburg 27 hours after its premiere in Bremen conforms to this demand, despite the ironic distance it sometimes assumes.

How despotic men were 140 years ago. How brutally they got their way. Women were subjugated but Geesche – years ahead of her time – rebelled against this type of domestic terror.

Her methods were both naive and extreme. Those standing between her and her personal freedom quickly found themselves in a better world. She blesses her macabre work with a pious song.

Jürgen Flimm, the young producer, staged this horror story effectively. The symphonic and choral music in the intervals was composed by Jens Peter Ostendorf from old themes and made to sound both pompous and sentimental.

Vera Borek played the role of Madame Gottfried, a woman of modest appearance who gradually finds pleasure in playing the role of fate and whose self-assurance increases from coffee-cup to coffee-cup, remaining weak only where her actions are determined by female emotions. The victims of her urge to freedom, be they husbands, parents or friends, are set in both grotesque and realistic spheres by Jürgen Flimm, causing a slight breach in the production that the actors are not able to escape. But Fassbinder's ability to arrange his material effectively with the minimum of dialogue remains unimpaired. When the curtain fell there was lasting applause, intermingled only by the obligatory boos.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 13 December 1971)



Scene from Fassbinder's *Bremer Freiheit*
(Photo: Rosemarie Clausen)

PEN discusses sport and nationalism

Sport and Nationalism is the subject of a colloquium to be held in the autumn of 1972 by the Cologne group of the West German PEN Club in cooperation with the Dutch and Flemish sections.

Writer Heinrich Böll is the organiser in his capacity as president of the West German PEN Centre. The North Rhine-Westphalia Provincial Assembly will probably grant the sum of between sixty and eight thousand Marks he has asked for to organise the event. The committees responsible have at any rate increased the arts section of the budget by 100,000 Marks.

Thirty writers from all over the world are expected to attend the colloquium. Jean-Paul Sartre and Arthur Miller will probably give talks. Jean Amery and Miguel Asturias are expected to take part in a discussion entitled "Sport and Achievement".

Paul Schallück, Professor Mitscherlich, Alan Sillitoe, Ulrich Sonnemann and Manes Sperber are to discuss "Sport and Depth Psychology".

Wolf Biermann, Professor Eduard Goldstücker and Yevgeni Yevtushenko are expected to talk about "Sport and Imperialism, Colonialism and the Class Struggle".

Other invitations will be sent out to James Baldwin, Saul Bellow, Harold Pinter, John Priestley, Slawomir Mrozek, Anna Seghers, Stephan Hermlin, Ernst Bloch, Carl Amery, Rudolf Hagelstange and Theodor Weissenborn.

(Handelsblatt, 8 December 1971)

Bread and Puppet Theater starts West German Tour

Three pink shadows cowered on the fiery red stage of Frankfurt's Theater am Turm. But the silent entry takes place behind the audience. Three old folk slowly wend their way to the stage. They bring the three red shadows water and growth for the headless puppets planted in the earth. Life begins.

Kiyoyori, the bird-catcher, enters, a sinner like everyone else. He too is fiery red and wears an expressionless mask and stiff bowler. His body becomes a pantomime.

The narrators explain that Yama, the Prince of Hell, wishes to have Kiyoyori in his kingdom. Kiyoyori claims to have done no wrong. He catches birds, it is true, but he only brings them to the falconers who kill them. As proof Kiyoyori shoots at Vietnamese human miniatures that are then consumed by the beasts of hell.

The King of Hell is convinced. He gives Kiyoyori a new life and allows him to return to his old world in the uniform of a soldier. A new Lieutenant Calley is born, a new My Lai is imminent.

The pink shadows retake his life. A mad woman who previously sang a commentary to the fight between Kiyoyori and the beasts of hell in Homeric tones, pulls the bird-catcher into the abyss of the underworld.

The American Bread and Puppet Theater that has now begun its West German tour with a performance of *The Birdcatcher in Hell* in Frankfurt's Theater am Turm gives its audience little help. People who do not speak English will not understand a word and the programme is no help either.

If pantomime is to succeed without words, the gestures must be self-explanatory or deal with a known event or story that is renewed and varied by the acting.

None of these conditions are satisfied by *The Birdcatcher* apart from the scene with the mad woman. The only question the play can prompt is "What does it all mean?" A lot of opportunities remained unused.

The work of the theatre is self-explanatory, claimed Peter Schumann, the playwright, producer and head of the Bread and Puppet Theater. It does not explan the action but it does present them in convincing fashion.

The pleasure taken in form, colour movement and symbolism – all part of the primitive theatre – shows that this could provide the stimulus towards a different type of theatre that is sadly neglected today. *Barbara Lehnig*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 December 1971)

Writers not so badly off

A survey of writers conducted by the Spiegel Institute for Project Studies reveals that independent authors in the Federal Republic are no worse off than the average West German citizen.

Twenty-eight per cent of the representative sample of 1,700 writers own a house or flat of their own, eleven per cent own land or flats they rent and 25 per cent have bonds or securities.

Spiegel reports in its latest issue that the analysis of the results showed that 23 per cent of the writers have an average net monthly income of over three thousand Marks, 27 per cent earn between two and three thousand Marks a month and nineteen per cent have to exist on a monthly budget of between 1,250 and 2,000 Marks.

The Spiegel Institute survey reveals that six per cent of independent writers earn less than eight hundred Marks a month and that fourteen per cent receive between 800 and 1,250 Marks.

When the results were classified according to age it was found that about seventy per cent of the writers over sixty could live off a pension.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 14 December 1971)

Frankfurters prefer Brecht and Wagner

The vast majority of Frankfurt's theatre-goers visit the city's theatres to see a particular play, production or actor. Classical operas and classical dramas are most popular. Wagner is the most popular composer and Brecht the most popular playwright, according to a survey of 2,190 theatre-goers at the beginning of last season.

Frankfurt University's department of social research analysed the answers given on questionnaires (as many as thirty thousand were distributed) asking why the theatre-goer had visited the theatre, what he had thought of the play and what suggestions he had for future programmes.

There is a clear discrepancy between the wishes of the regulars and the occasional theatre-goer. Another striking feature is that young people between 21 and 30 go to the theatre less frequently than might be expected from their proportion of the total pupulation in Frankfurt. Only one regular theatre-goer in ten is under thirty.

Forty per cent of opera-goers wanted to see classical operas, 28.7 per cent operetta, 14.1 per cent ballet, 11.5 per cent operas in their original language and 5.7 modern operas.

It is mostly occasional theatre-goers and the under-thirties who want to see contemporary and political theatre. But in the list of preferred playwrights Brecht is in top place with a 9.3 per cent share of the votes followed by Schiller and Shakespeare. Dürrenmatt, Frisch, Grass, Hochhuth and Handke bring up the rear.

Brecht, frequently performed under the former Frankfurt theatre manager Harry Buckwitz, is obviously considered one of the classicists in Frankfurt, even by Frankfurt's cultural adviser Hilmar Hoffmann.

Hoffmann recently denied that Peter Palitzsch would only provide Frankfurt's theatre-goers with political theatre in future by stating, "Of course Palitzsch will stage the latest plays by people like Weiss and Hochhuth and enhance the reputation of our theatre. But the rest of the programme will not exclude works by Classicists ranging from Sophocles to Shakespeare and Brecht. *Dieter Lau*

(Die Welt, 10 December 1971)

Musicals and operettas top the poll

Musicals and operettas are the most frequently performed works of music in West German theatres, statistics collected by the Stage Association for the 1970–1971 season show. The results were based on information received from 199 German-speaking theatres.

The list is headed by the Johann Strauss operetta *Gipsy Baron*, followed by *Land of the Smiles*, *My Fair Lady*, *Kiss Me, Kate* and *Die Fledermaus*. The first opera can be found in sixth place: *Fidelio*. This work is followed by *Carmen* and *The Magic Flute*.

Light plays are also to be found in leading positions for the most popular stage works. *Ciao* is in first place followed by *Play Strindberg*, *Handicap* and *The Flea in the Ear*.

Critical plays such as *August, August, August*, *Eisenwichser*, *Guerillas*, *Magic Afternoon* and *Change* were also performed a comparatively large number of times.

All in all, the latest statistics confirm the downward trend of the Classicists noted in recent years.

(Die Welt, 9 December 1971)

■ EDUCATION

Munich attracts students despite high rents

For the first time ever more than 25,000 students are currently registered at Munich's Ludwig Maximilian University. The figure for this winter term – 25,236 – compares with the 23,889 students at the university during the last winter term.

Munich University, the largest in the Federal Republic, should not really admit more that 25,000 students but who wants to stem the flood? What is more, who can stem the flood?

The official concerned in the Education Ministry shrugged his shoulders and stated that Article Twelve, Paragraph One of Basic Law does not permit universities to shut their doors on new students merely because the limit to their capacity has been reached.

The free choice of a place of study – long ago violated by the numerus clausus entry restrictions – works to the persistent disadvantage of Munich University. Munich's attractiveness is due not least to its much-praised leisure-time amenities which cause students to flock to the south.

Ten thousand more students are registered in Bavaria this year than two years ago. "Because of the shortage of student accommodation I call upon inhabitants of university towns to help improve the situation and rent rooms to students," the Bavarian Minister of Education appealed.

He is now considering the problems caused by numerus clausus, especially the "social numerus clausus" that is becoming more and more evident in Munich. To exaggerate the issue a little, only the rich can study in Munich because rents in the Bavarian capital are gradually reaching astronomic proportions.

That was certainly not the only reason why only 18.6 per cent of the students rented single rooms in the summer term of 1971 but it was certainly one of the most important causes why students group together to rent their own flat. Only 10.7 per cent of the students can live in student hostels. Twenty per cent commute daily to and from Munich.

The Olympic Games provide a ray of hope along with the recently-opened underground railway. The flats making up the Olympic Village are starting to sprout up near the Olympic Stadium though they have a naked appearance at present and are surrounded by impassable terrain.

Students will be able to move in by the beginning of 1972 but they will have to leave again to make way for the Olympic athletes. However a few hundred apartments will be available here as student flats from the end of 1972 onwards. Because of the underground railway the distance to the university is not particularly important.

Disquiet is gradually spreading in Schwabing, Munich's traditional artist and student quarter. Schwabing is no longer what it used to be. Department stores and office blocks are eating into the residential areas, replacing the old corner shop.

The university quarter is also in danger. The cancerous growth it now forms helps make it one of the least inhabited city centre areas. Giant university buildings are changing the look of the place and university departments are moving into what little old housing is left.

This may cause a lot of people to forget that 25,000 students are much too much for this university. It may give a lot of people the complacent feeling that work is going on behind creaking doors.

But the old inhabitants and the people who would like to live here are now inviting people to attend an exhibition showing how the quarter has died a slow death, suffocated by administrative and university buildings.

How is this flood to be checked? It affects only Munich and not the other Bavarian universities despite the fact that the Federal state aims to establish a university in each of its administrative districts, thus spreading the growing number of students throughout Bavaria and helping relieve Munich that also has a technical university with ten thousand students and a college of education with some three thousand students.

Universities have already been set up in Regensburg and Augsburg. Bayreuth will be the next new university town when the first of the planned ten thousand students arrive there on 1 January 1972.

What are new students studying this winter? Despite the computer probing into every student's aims and background, a course much criticised by the students union, only a rough outline is possible.

The study advisory service states that there is a little motivated and inexplicable trend towards socio-education, a subject offering no fixed system of courses in Munich and in many other universities. The Education Ministry gleefully notes that a strikingly large number of new students plan to become secondary school teachers.

The next largest group is economics followed by law, psychology, philosophy and education. The picture is still unclear as far as the sciences are concerned. The number of new students in this field – affected by entry restrictions – is mainly determined from the Central Registration Bureau in Hamburg which this year issued confusing and completely inadequate statistics.

One thing does however seem to be certain. During this winter term Bavaria is offering students 1,751 places in the subjects affected by numerus clausus, the highest figure in the Federal Republic.

It is little wonder that this fact contributes to making Munich – the university providing most of these places – even more attractive to students from throughout the Federal Republic.

A member of the Philosophical Faculty spoke angrily of a memo in which the dean asked on behalf of the vice-chancellor for the names of students who were reported to have disturbed the course of the elections to the vice-chancellorship last summer.

Munich is not Berlin or Frankfurt, Vice-Chancellor Lobkowicz, a specialist in Marxism, points out: "It is my aim to preserve Munich University as one of the best universities in the Federal Republic and prevent the irresponsible experimentation conducted at some of the other universities. It is self-evident that to preserve the university in this way a lot must be changed." Does this include the supervision of insubordinate students?

Franziska Hörlin

(Deutsche Zeitung, 10 December 1971)



Police intervention will not help universities

Opinions seemed divided over the question whether the police ought to be called in when students disturb lectures.

The fate of universities in this country was being discussed by the Rhine Ruhr Club in Düsseldorf. The composition of the discussion group promised political balance.

Dr Hans Dichgans, a Christian Democrat member of the Bundestag, Professor Wilhelm Hennis, the Freiburg political scientist, Professor Werner Knopp, the Vice-Chancellor of Münster University and Rolf Kreibich, head of the Free University of Berlin all took part in the discussion.

Questions were direct. Do the universities permit breaches of the law? How independent are they? Can the decline in performance be allowed to continue? Can the university be converted into a cadre school?

The three university representatives agreed that the police and law were not suitable bodies to preserve order within a university, though only half the audience seemed to approve of this view.

Professor Knopp stated that the university's own opportunities to maintain order were minimal. Expulsion and other disciplinary measures are annulled by administrative courts. Legal proceedings have to be discontinued when an amnesty is proclaimed.

Dr Dichgans' idyll of the Swiss university that closed its doors for five days to bring students to reason was considered by both Kreibich and Knopp to be a method that would only aid extremist intentions.

Dichgans stated that closing the universities was the State's last resort. This prompted Knopp to counter that, though everyone spoke of student unrest, no one ever mentioned the inadequacies suffered by universities because the State does not provide sufficient money.

Proposals for restricting the independence of universities were practically unanimous. They should be independent in matters of teaching and research, it was argued, but in administrative questions the State should have a greater say.

Kreibich disputed that fact that standards had dropped but the audience was sceptical. He stated that the Berlin State Examination Bureau, uninfluenced by events at the university and completely independent of it, had in no way eased examination conditions. Hennis believed

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Industriekurier

that a decline in standards at a mass university was a kind of law of nature though he did not go on to explain his point.

Knopp agreed that a few universities may have been converted into cadre schools but stressed that this could not be said of most of them. Kreibich stated that a questioning of methods and not ideologies was the criterium of a university. Hennis sees the cause of Marxist infiltration in the vacuum in social sciences.

A proposal by Dichgans was intended to test the truth content of the optimistic picture Kreibich painted of the Free University of Berlin. The Bundestag member offered to hold a lecture on Marxism and free enterprise but Kreibich, who otherwise skilfully defended his university, did not bite.

Hermann Laupsien

Handelsblatt, 9 December 1971

■ MEDICINE

Anaesthetists Congress in West Berlin

Frankfurter Rundschau

Anaesthetists never used to be offered more than the post of a doctor or assistant doctor but now that hospital authorities are coming to recognise them as representatives of an independent branch of medicine they are being granted positions as senior doctors.

Dr W.F. Henschel of Bremen, the head of the West German Anaesthetists Association, told his colleagues about this trend at the Association's tenth annual congress in Berlin.

The anaesthetist is a specialist responsible for anaesthetics, blood transfusions and treatment for shock during an operation. He checks breathing and heart activity and supervises the patient until the surgeon begins work.

The anaesthetist is also responsible for supervising newly operated patients. He is a typical emergency doctor. Dr Henschel described anaesthetists as a medical fire brigade.

In 1970 a total of 19,123 people were killed on West German roads. The 1957 figure was thirteen thousand. Professor K.H. Bauer of Heidelberg has calculated that every death cost 125,000 Marks. The permanent state of war on our roads would then have cost the community a total of 2,390 million Marks in 1970.

Dr M. Greiffenhagen and Dr H. Malz of Bremen reported that the first "clinomobile" had started operations in Heidelberg at the prompting of Professor Bauer.

The clinomobile was an operating theatre on wheels that travelled to accidents with its staff of three surgeons, an anaesthetist, a sister and a nurse.

This type of vehicle has now been replaced by smaller ambulances intended as advance intensive therapy units. The accompanying doctor takes the necessary life-saving steps and decides whether the accident victim can travel, This type of ambulance is ideal for our roads and conditions, the two doctors reported.

In Frankfurt there are three emergency ambulances that constantly patrol the city and are thus in a position to arrive at an accident within ten minutes.

Dr H. Herbst states that this scheme has worked. The only problem was when the ambulance ought to be sent. Laymen were usually unable to decide.

The ambulance and accompanying doctor must not be sent to a person who is obviously dead as this rules out their presence at another accident where human life can perhaps be saved.

But the number of false alarms in Frankfurt has not risen too high, Dr Herbst reports, because trained staff examined the need for the ambulance as far as this was possible.

Professor R. Frey of Mainz reported that there were 42 such ambulances in Moscow giving speedy first aid. Some of the ambulances also carried haematologists to accidents if circumstances warranted it, he added.

The West German road network and the infrastructure of the Federal Republic are far more developed than is the case in the Soviet Union with the exception of Moscow. The number of ambulances has been increased throughout the Federal Republic. Helicopters are also used if required.

Despite the large amount of equipment that an anaesthetist has at his disposal today, experts at the congress stated that a new anaesthetic method, neuroleptanalgesia, was becoming more and more common.

Apart from a mixture of oxygen and laughing gas and the usual substances countering muscle exhaustion, patients are injected with a quick-working pain-killer. This affects the most important bodily functions less than traditional anaesthetic methods.

Dr Henschel told the press that the decisive substance in this new anaesthetic method was similar to curare and was injected intravenously in doses of not more than a milligram.

Curare is a poison obtained from the barks of plants of the strychnos genus and is used by South American Indians to poison their arrow tips. It has long been known that this poison paralyses the muscles while allowing other organs to function normally.

This anaesthetic has a superficial narcotic effect and the patient is under stage one anaesthesia (doctors distinguish between four stages) where he is unconscious and feels no pain.

Side effects are minimal to a point of non-existent. That is why neuroleptanalgesia will be find more and more application in future in major operations on the elderly and in heart and nerve surgery.

Otto Tappen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 December 1971)

Women smokers surveyed

Frankfurter Rundschau

Professor Karlheinz Wöber of Aachen undertook a difficult task recently when he decided to examine the reasons why more and more women are smoking more and more cigarettes.

At the *Smoking and Health* congress held under Professor Wöber's chairmanship at Bad Homburg scientists from Europe and America reported that there had been an alarming rise in the number of women who smoke in the past ten years. The number of cigarettes smoked by women has also increased.

The scientists were unable to quote any exact figures nor state the probable reasons and causes. Professor Wöber will now do this work at the instigation of the Central Bureau against the Dangers of Addiction.

Ten years ago market researchers calculated that thirteen per cent of the 22,970,000 million women between 16 and 79 in the Federal Republic smoked an average of seven cigarettes a day. There are no more recent figures on the number of female smokers and amount of cigarettes consumed.

In an interview with the Deutsche Presse-Agentur Professor Wöber stated that he would ask women how many cigarettes a day they really smoked, how long they had been smoking and why they first started.

Professor Wöber also plans to find out why women continue to smoke despite the anti-smoking campaign. That is why he is asking whether they have any social, business, professional or even marital problems.

He would also like to know whether women wanting to give up smoking would try to do this in a group of other people with the same idea or after a talk with their doctor.

Professor Wöber is now hoping for a lot of letters enabling him to draw up a plan specifically for women smokers who wish to return to the path of healthy living.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 December 1971)

Fewer surgeons

Dr Wolfgang Müller-Osten, head of the Surgeons Association, has stated that surgery is facing a desperate recruiting problem. "It is impossible to exaggerate the situation confronting us," he told the 108th Congress of Northwest German Surgeons in Hamburg.

The position was so bad, he added, that it was already possible to calculate when the population could no longer be guaranteed full surgical care.

"If there were no foreign surgeons working in our hospitals, the crisis would already be upon us," Müller-Osten stated.

Dr Müller-Osten believes that the main reasons for the shortage of surgeons are the inadequate staffing policies of many hospitals and the reluctance of the young to enter this exhausting profession.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 5 December 1971)

Five thousand died of TB in 1970

Five thousand West Germans died of tuberculosis in 1970, eight hundred fewer than in 1969. The proportion of deaths from tuberculosis in the overall mortality figures was once again less than one per cent.

As welcome as this success in the fight against a disease once reckoned among the most serious plagues may be, tuberculosis must not yet be considered as overcome.

This is shown by the figures included in a report entitled *Tuberculosis 1970* published by the Wiesbaden-based Federal Statistics Bureau.

The number of patients with active tuberculosis registered by health authorities in this country once again declined by five per cent by the end of 1970 from 199,977 to 189,122.

Open tuberculosis of the respiratory organs has sunk by eight per cent. Only 43,382 cases were registered at the end of 1970 compared with 47,310 twelve months previously. Three times more men than women were affected.

The tuberculosis figures – reckoned per 100,000 inhabitants – sunk in 1970 from 435 to 413 for men and from 228 to 214 for women. The frequency of tuberculosis is practically the same for both sexes up to the age of thirty. But men over forty are affected three times as frequently as women.

More people suffer from tuberculosis in the large cities of West Berlin and Hamburg than anywhere else. In West Berlin 696 people in every 100,000 are affected while the Hamburg figure is 608. The lowest figures are recorded in Hesse with 248 and Baden-Württemberg with 255. The average for the whole country is 309.

In 1970 a total of 48,262 new cases of active tuberculosis were recorded, a descrease of only three per cent over the 1969 figure of 49,695.

Sixty-three per cent of the newly-registered cases were males and thirty per cent (14,475) had an open tuberculosis of the respiratory organs.

Despite all efforts in the fight against tuberculosis middle-aged and elderly males still form a large section of total tuberculosis sufferers. This is particularly noticeable in cases of tuberculosis of the lung. Men over forty make up 74 per cent of the cases.

(Münchner Merkur, 10 December 1971)

MEDICAL NOTES

Pollution deaths

A million people have died of pollution in recent years and not of the heart failure recorded in death certificates, Professor Bernhard Grzimek, Federal Commissioner for Nature Conservation, claimed at a recent debate held in Kempten, but he did not go on to amplify his views.

He added that it was no use criticising industry. Instead industrial concerns should be persuaded to cooperate.

Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher stated that future policy must rule out all possible damage to the environment from the very outset. The conservation laws should ensure that we think more of human beings than of material things.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 10 December 1971)

Cigarette ads rapped

The medical study group *Rauchen und Gesundheit* (smoking and health) in Mannheim has lodged a complaint against the West German cigarette industry, alleging incessant contravention of this country's food laws.

The doctors accuse the tobacco industry of being "morally reprehensible" and of dealing with tobacco for "flagrant motives of self-interest" deliberately and without compunction. They complain that the industry exploits advertising purely for the profit motive.

Sales and advertising are, they allege, in contravention of food laws in that this legislation covers damage to health. "Offering for sale" foodstuffs with a poisonous content is punishable severely under these laws.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 November 1971)

Men drink milk

A survey of 3,000 male members of our consumer society aged over twenty has been carried out by the Association of Milk Supply Companies in the cities, leading to a recommendation to the industry and the authorities that milk should be boosted as a breakfast and "coffee break" drink, more than it has been in the past.

The Association reported recently in Düsseldorf that more than a half of the men questioned said that they would prefer milk or milk-based drinks at breakfast and during the mid-morning break at work.

Eight hundred and twenty of them said that their firm did not have milk supplies. Of those questioned there were only 52 who said that they could not abide milk or dismissed it as a drink for babes and sucklings!

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 November 1971)

Noise as death factor

Fifty per cent of all people currently die of arteriosclerosis, a disease that is at least helped along by noise, Professor Georg Schimert of Munich University claims.

The noise increase leads directly to disorders of the nervous system, high blood pressure and circulatory complaints.

This does not include the impaired capacity for mental concentration that is reduced by fifty per cent when the noise level reaches eighty decibels (normal street noise).

The organism is affected by noise as low as 35 decibels, a level felt by many people living in cities to be blissful quiet.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 December 1971)

■ RELIEF

For 25 years UNICEF has been the helper of children in distress

DIE WELT

When tables groan with their burden of presents and from every house there is the sweet aroma of the cooking of the Christmas bird there are signs that our prosperous society is celebrating its state of plenty.

Few parents as they look round at their smiling healthy children will give a thought to the fact that 25 years ago things were not so good for them. Then Germany lay in rubble and ashes, untold numbers of people, many of them children, were homeless, ill and undernourished.

But the need of the thirty million children in post-war Germany did not go unnoticed. In the summer of 1946 Herbert Hoover invited public figures throughout the world to an international conference to look into the problem of children's distress. Five months later, on 11 November 1946, the United Nations general assembly decide to form UNICEF – United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. More than sixty nations were involved – now there are more than 120. The German Committee of the Fund was called into being by Countess Etta Waldersee.

In the same year this unique organisation went into operation. Tons of powdered milk, sugar, medicines, materials for making clothes and shoes flooded daily into all parts of Europe in distress. In Germany alone during the next four years 2.2 million children were aided.

By 1950 the state of emergency was at an end. Germany and the other nations of Europe affected by the war were on the way to reconstruction. For children things were much better.

But UNICEF continued to operate. The need of children in economically underdeveloped nations was emphasised and their condition was depressing. The most important need was for food, clothing, medicines along with hospitals and schools.

According to statistics only thirty out of every 100 children in these countries went to a junior school, and not more than three out of every 100 had a chance for further education.

But annually 20 million more children came into the world in these countries, children who would never go to school, who could be ill and poor if no one was concerned for them.

UNICEF helped. Currently there are almost 800 million children in 112 developing countries aided by UNICEF. The UNICEF programme trains doctors and nursing sisters in inoculation campaigns and trains social workers and teachers for schools. Health centres for children were established, audio-visual teaching equipment provided and toys for crèches and kindergartens.

All this costs money. Where does it come from? The most important source of funds is the voluntary contributions made by various governments. In 1970 137 countries contributed 43.1 million dollars. America gives the most money – $17,560,000. Then comes Sweden providing $4,170,000. The Federal Republic contributed $2,660,000 (seven million Marks). In this way West Germany returns to children in need all over the world what German children received twenty years ago.

Every citizen in the Federal Republic can help UNICEF, not only by sending money to the UNICEF account in Cologne, but also by buying UNICEF greeting cards.

In 1970 almost 75 million cards were sold for a total of 5.5 million dollars. The Federal Republic was particularly successful in this effort. Thirty per cent more cards were sold in 1970 than in 1969, with the Federal Republic coming second after America in these increased sales.

Here are two examples of how this programme helps: the proceeds from the sale of one card can finance UNICEF to protect five children against tuberculosis. The proceeds from the sale of a box of cards provides funds to inoculate thirty children against diphtheria, whooping-cough and tetanus.

UNICEF's operating costs are in principle kept below the ten per cent of contributions level. During 1968 operating costs were as low as 6.6 per cent, this means that most of the workers in the 94 operational departments are voluntary workers. Furthermore the sales outlets for the greeting cards, tobacconist shops, drug stores and department stores, do not receive a penny from sales.

In order to save money UNICEF officials do not travel much. Most of them are not acquainted with the territories where the Organisation's aid is daily of such importance. "We operate on the basis of mutual trust," said Erika Schulenberg, head of UNICEF operations. Nor is any money available for advertisements.

Despite all these economy measures UNICEF aid reaches every tenth child in need of it. In order to meet its responsibilities and to keep pace with increased population, income must be doubled. To finance five hundred aid programmes in 1971 as much as 72.2 million dollars will be needed. Four years later it is estimated that 100 million dollars will be needed and by 1980 the sum should have increased to 150 million dollars.

The fight against hunger, illness and illiteracy is also being waged by the developing countries themselves. UNICEF has made available 100 million dollars for development programmes and the recipient countries have doubled this figure. A spokesman said: "UNICEF gives help in order to promote self-help without any political or economic strings attached."

Of 250 incapacitated persons in developing countries forty per cent are children under the age of 15. For this reason UNICEF demanded at a conference in Geneva in April that in future emphasis would be given to nourishment programmes, mother and child programmes, family planning, the establishment of kindergartens and education for the rising generation. In this way it is hoped to break the vicious circle of poverty, hunger, illness, employment, then poverty again.

In 1965 UNICEF was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. At the presentation in Oslo UNICEF director-general Henry R. Labouisse said: "Awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to UNICEF implies recognition of the fact that peace is dependent on the wellbeing of our children. Poverty and privation – the lot of so many children – leads to bitterness and revolt. What ever is done to make it possible for children to grow up happily is at the same time a considerable contribution to the reduction of future tensions and conflicts."

Heike Mundzeck

(Die Welt, 10 December 1971)

NEWS IN BRIEF

Eating out

People in this country including West Berlin spend at a weekend 18 million Marks for eating and drinking away from home, according to a Nuremberg consumer and market research organisation (GfK).

The organisation has produced a short report, Consumption away from the home, dealing with the findings of a brief survey.

More than 10 million people in this country go, at the weekend, to a restaurant, cafe or similar eating place.

More than a third of these call in at more than one establishment.

These eaters-out order at least once:
– Alcoholic drinks – 10.7 million people
– Warm food – 3.7 million people
– Coffee or tea – 3.2 million people.

(Münchner Merkur, 6 December 1971)

Average consumers

Statisticians have been examining what the average citizen in the Federal Republic gets up to in a year, what he eats and drinks and how he behaves.

The following statistics have been produced for the 1970.

Citizens in this country favour eating potatoes most of all (112 kilos in a year) they prefer to drink beer – 144 litres annually – spend the greatest proportion of their time in bed – 3,000 hours a year – as opposed to 2,000 hours at work.....

People sit in front of the television 1,000 hours, write or receive 173 letters, postcards and other postal matter. They spend ten Marks on toilet paper.

Every citizen in the Federal Republic consumes annually 277 eggs. For statisticians the egg has a considerable importance because they measure the Mark's purchasing power by it.

In 1960 the average worker in this country earnt a sufficient amount of money after 47 minutes work to purchase ten eggs. Currently the same worker needs only work 19 minutes for ten eggs.

(Die Welt, 10 December 1971)

Women's lib

Self-assurance among women in this country appears to have become more emphasised. A recent survey showed that 32 per cent of women over 16 considered themselves to be self-assured.

Forthy-three per cent of women asked considered that a woman ought to be self-assured.

Thirty-seven per cent of men asked were of the view that women should be possessed of this personal quality.

This survey was produced by a Nuremberg market research organisation, GPK, commissioned to investigate women's ideals and the views they hold of themselves. The survey investigated at the same time men's ideals concerning women.

Independence came just after self-assurance as one of the qualities women tend to emphasise, since 14 per cent of the women questioned listed themselves as independent. A massive thirty per cent of women considered independence a most important quality.

But men seem to stand in the way of realising these hopes. Only twelve per cent of the men asked believed that a woman ought to be independent.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 10 December 1971)

Lions plan to thank America for post-war CARE parcels

Forty million CARE parcels helped Germany at the end of World War II when the country was at its worst. Twenty five years later people in this country can return thanks to CARE by donating to CARE in a campaign set in motion by the Federal Republic Lions Clubs.

At a Lions conference in Las Vegas this year the West German delegation decided to start a campaign "Thanks to CARE". Clubs in the seven Lions districts of the Federal Republic will take part by holding concerts, tombola evenings, charity performances and donation campaigns. It is planned to have a Lions Music Festival in Bonn with Herbert von Karajan taking part.

The Lions Clubs hope to be only the yeast to this campaign. The real action should be from among citizens everywhere. Children and young people at school should be reminded of the help the Americans gave. North Rhine-Westphalia Education Minister, Jürgen Girgensohn, has, for example, already written to teachers asking them to describe to the young people how things were at this difficult time.

A prize has been offered for an essay entitled: "The story of a CARE parcel". The first prize will be an eight-day holiday for two in New York at CARE headquarters. The closing date for entries is 15 January.

The Lions Club aims to be able to obtain for CARE one per cent of what CARE today receives. The proceeds are for the East Pakistan refugees. Chancellor Willy Brandt has welcomed this initiative and Heinz Kühn from North Rhine-Westphalia has agreed to be the campaign's patron.

CARE has established a "tent city" on the Indo-Pakistan border with accommodation for 300,000 people. For the ten million people who have lost their homes this is but a drop in the ocean.

The American Lions Club supported CARE from the very beginning. In all twenty two American organisations have joined CARE (Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe) which was founded in America on 27 November 1945. Since then the title of the organisation has been altered to Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere.

CARE gives aid to 30 million people via any number of aid programmes in 38 countries. Twelve of these are in Latin America, eight in Africa, the Middle East and the Far East and two in Europe. The aim is to help in acute need and to give assistance to self-help programmes. To provide funds for the 3,000 CARE shipments in 1970 Americans and Canadians had to raise something like 15 million dollars.

In the first few years after the end of World War II Germany received about seventy per cent of all CARE aid. Federal President Theodor Heuss thanked the American Congress for this aid and later President Lübke confirmed: "I am certain that the fight for survival in Germany after the War would not have been won if it had not been for CARE."

(Handelsblatt, 22 November 1971)

■ SPORT

Hat trick for Sportsman of the Year Hans Fassnacht

Frankfurter **Neue Presse**

For the third year in succession Hans Fassnacht has been voted Sportsman of the Year by sports reporters in this country. This hat trick is a feat unequalled by any other figure in the world of sport.

Two-time European 100-metre champion Ingrid Mickler, née Becker, was voted Sportswoman of the Year, a title she last won in 1968.

The Team of the Year, according to the twenty-fifth annual poll conducted by Internationale Sportkorrespondenz of Stuttgart, were Federal league football champions Borussia Mönchengladbach.

Fassnacht, world record-holding swimmer in the butterfly style, romped home far more clearly than on the two previous occasions. A Mannheimer now living in the United States, he polled some 700 points more than two-time canoe world champion Detlef Lewe, who narrowly beat European hammer-throwing champion Uwe Beyer to second place.



Ingrid Mickler, Sportswoman of the Year

Berti Vogts, Footballer of the Year, was beaten to fourth place by ice-skating speed king Erhard Keller.

In the Sportswoman of the Year poll Ingrid Mickler was likewise well ahead of runners-up Hildegard Falck, 800-metre world record-holder, and pentathlon specialist Heide Rosendahl.

These three field and track athletes, together with European dressage champion Liselott Linsenhoff, were in their turn well ahead of the rest of the field.

For Ingrid Mickler and Heide Rosendahl it was their second placing in the top rank. They, Inge Helten and Elfgard Schittenhelm formed the 4 x 100 metres relay team that won the European championship title in Helsinki.

They were beaten in the Team of the Year ratings only by Borussia Mönchengladbach and the Lake Constance fours.

"I knew I stood a chance, but to be voted 'Sportsman of the Year' for the third time in succession . . .," Hans Fassnacht said, his voice failing him. "No, it really is something unique, well-nigh incomprehensible."

These are emotions seldom heard from the Mannheim swimmer, who is a quiet, retiring person and in his own words a "loner" who would prefer to avoid the hue and cry of publicity.

Now he has been voted Sportsman of the Year yet again. Why? In 1971 Hans Fassnacht and coach Don Gambril reached the target they had set themselves. In Uppsala he won the European Cup title by winning four gold medals in six exhausting starts, in the process setting up six new European records and a world best time of 2 min. 3.3 sec. for the 200 metres butterfly, – and that in a pre-Olympic year.

"I train and work twice as hard as the rest. You have to to stay at the top," he comments. He owes his international pre-eminence in swimming to many people: his parents, his Mannheim coach, the Federal Republic Sports Aid Foundation and of course his inexorable coach Don Gambril who daily puts him through his Olympic paces.

Hans Fassnacht's dearest wish is to be able to retire after winning Olympic gold in the 200 metres butterfly with a new world record.

Not long after the Munich Olympics Ingrid Mickler will turn thirty. "I don't yet know whether I will then retire from competitive sport," she says.

A housewife and student of physical education, she embarked on her journey to the top in 1967. "I will call it a day as soon as I no longer enjoy my sport," she concludes.

Ingrid Mickler, who first made an international name for herself under her maiden name Becker, won the Olympic gold medal in the pentathlon at Mexico City on 15 and 16 October 1968.

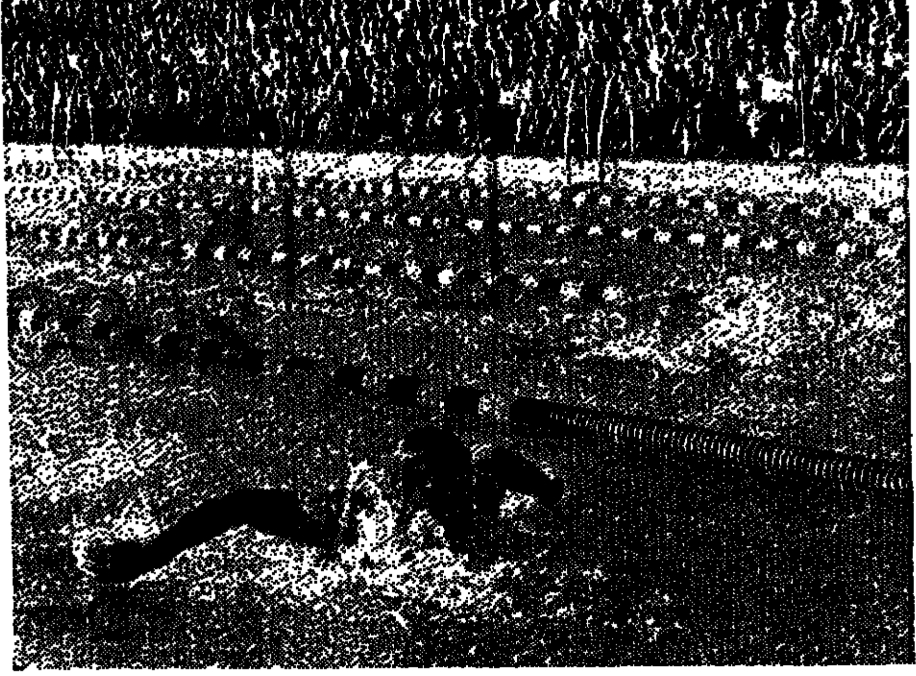
She also came sixth in the long-jump and as a member of the 4 x 100 metres relay team and was an outstanding athlete at the 1971 European athletics championships in Helsinki.

At Helsinki she won two gold medals, in the long-jump and as the final leg of the 4 x 100 metres relay team and came second in the individual 100 metres sprint. This was no mean achievement for a woman who a matter of months beforehand was thinking in terms of retiring because of the results of a car accident and a serious knee injury sustained in hurdles training.

Five feet nine and a half and ten stone seven, Ingrid Mickler is ideally sized for the pentathlon, the long-jump ("Seven metres are not out of the question") and the sprint.

She also has irrepressible will power and the ability to concentrate on the job in hand. In all probability she will drop the individual 100 metres in Munich but will compete in the relay, the long-jump and the pentathlon, though she has not yet revealed her precise intentions.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 18 December 1971)



Butterfly world record-holder Hans Fassnacht, Sportsman of the Year

(Photos: dpa 2, Dieter Frinke)



Football league champions Borussia Mönchengladbach, Team of the Year

Speed skaters set up new records at Innzell

Seventeen-year-old Monika Pflug of Munich was in sparkling form at the Bavarian speed-skating championships, setting up two national records in the 500 and 1,500 metres.

She covered the shorter of the two distances in a first-rate 44.52 seconds, an improvement of 0.31 seconds on her previous best.

Over the 1,500 metres she improved on her personal best for the second time this season (and the season has hardly got under way), clocking 2 min. 21.05 sec., three quarters of a second better than her performance three weeks beforehand.

The men too also set up new records, albeit personal bests. Hans Lichtenstern of Innzell skated the 500 metres in 39.87 seconds and Gerhard Zimmermann improved his personal best time to 40.24 seconds.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 December 1971)

Two million Marks worth of Olympic tickets sold

Some ten million Marks were netted by the Munich Olympic organising committee during the first phase of foreign advance sales of tickets for next summer's Olympic Games between May and July last. 550,000 of the 1,200,000 tickets allotted to foreign visitors have already been sold.

The United States heads the list with 85,000 tickets bought, followed by Yugoslavia with 46,000. At the tail end of the sales tables comes Malta with two tickets so far purchased.

Two million of the 3,600,000 tickets available for the Olympic events in Munich, Augsburg and Kiel have so far been sold, "at this stage, nine months before the Games, an Olympic record", a spokesman for the organising committee comments.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 December 1971)

Aden	SA $ 0.05
Afghanistan	Af 10.—
Algeria	DA 0.60
Angola	Esc. 1.—
Argentina	$ m n 45.—
Australia	10 c.
Austria	S 3.—
Belgium	bfr 6.—
Bolivia	$ b 1.50
Brazil	N. Cr. $ 0.35
Bulgaria	Lev 0.05
Burma	K 0.60
Burundi	F. Bu. 10.—
Cambodia	R 4.40
Cameroun	F.C.F.A 30.—
Canada	Can. $ —.20
Ceylon	cR —.60
Chile	Esc. 0.60
Colombia	col. $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—
Costa Rica	C 0.85
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.90
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15
Ecuador	S 2.50
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT $ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
Great Britain	5 p
Greece	Dr 4.—
Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.80
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	Rl 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0.25
Kuwait	50 fils
Laos	Kip 60.—
Lebanon	P 40.—
Liberia	Lib $ 0.15
Libya	50 Mills
Luxembourg	lfr 6
Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.50
Morocco	DM —.65
Mozambique	Esc. 1.—
Nepal	Mohur 1.—
Netherlands	Hfl 0.50
Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25
New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.85
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B. 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	S. 3.50
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.90
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 8.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.50
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	$ 0.20
USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Zambia	11 d